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THE

FREE-HOLDER.

OR

POLITICAL ESSAYS.

By the Right Honourable

JOSEPH ADDISON, Esq;

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THE CONTENTS.

N° 1. *THE title and design of this work.*

2. *Of* His Majesty's *character.*

3. *The memoirs of a* Preston *Rebel.*

4. *Reasons why the* British *Ladies should side with the* Free-Holder.

5. *Of the love which we owe to our country.*

6. *The guilt of perjury.*

7. *Of party lies.*

8. *The female association.*

9. *Answer of the* Free-Holders *of* Great-Britain *to the* Pretender's *Declaration.*

 10. *Arbi-*

950106

N°

28. *Several useful maxims to be learned from the present rebellion.*

29. *The practice of morality necessary to make a party flourish.*

30. *Of the vanity of the* French *nation.*

31. *Answer to a celebrated pamphlet, entitled,* An argument to prove the affections of the people of *England* to be the best security of the Government; humbly offered to the consideration of the patrons of severity, and applied to the present juncture of affairs.

32. *Artifices of the malecontents to draw the women into their party.*

33. *The particular concern of learned societies to cultivate the favour of their Prince.*

34. *Absurdity of admitting a spirit of party into publick diversions, and particularly those of the play-house.*

35. *Of modern historians.*

36. *Annals*

N°
36. *Annals of the* Pretender's *reign.*

37. *Ill conſequences of the late cry of the church's danger, with regard to religion.*

38. *Propoſals for a truce between the Ladies of either party.*

39. *Character of the late Lord* Somers, *publiſhed on the day of his interment.*

40. *The uſual treatment of ſuch men as make themſelves authors.*

41. *Advantages to the* Spaniſh *trade obtained by* his preſent MAJESTY.

42. *Advantages to our commerce in the* Netherlands *obtained by* his preſent MAJESTY.

43. *The inconſiſtence of a* Popiſh *Prince and Proteſtant ſubjects.*

44. *Tory Fox-hunter's account of the maſquerade on the birth of the Arch-Duke.*

45. *The uſe and advantage of wit and humour under proper regulations.*

46. *His*

N°.

46. *His* MAJESTY's *birth-day.*

47. *Converſion of the Tory Fox-hunter.*

48. *Of Miniſters of State, eſpecially in* Great-Britain.

49. *Thankſgiving day for ſuppreſſing the late rebellion.*

50. *The folly and miſchief of mobs and riots.*

51. *Cautions to be obſerved in the reading of ancient* Greek *and* Roman *hiſtorians.*

52. *Of ſtate jealouſy.*

53. Britons, *free-thinkers in politicks.*

54. *Preference of the Whig Scheme to that of the Tories.*

55. *Concluſion.*

THE FREE-HOLDER.

N° 1 Friday, December 23, 1715.

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet. Tacit. Hiſtor. 1. 1.

'Tis a peculiar happineſs of the times, when a man may think as he pleaſes, and ſpeak as he thinks.

THE Arguments of an Author loſe a great deal of their weight, when we are perſuaded that he only writes for argument's ſake, and has no real concern in the cauſe which he eſpouſes. This is the caſe of one who draws his pen in the defence of property without having any; except, perhaps, in the copy of a libel, or a ballad. One is apt to ſuſpect, that the paſſion for liberty, which appears in a Grub-ſtreet Patriot, ariſes only from his apprehenſions of a goal; and that, whatever he may pretend, he does not write to ſecure, but to get ſomething of his own. Should the Go-

vernment be overturned, he has nothing to loſe but an old ſtandiſh.

I queſtion not but the Reader will conceive a reſpect for the Author of this Paper from the title of it; ſince, he may be ſure, I am ſo conſiderable a man, that I cannot have leſs than forty ſhillings a Year.

I have rather choſen this title than any other, becauſe it is what I moſt glory in, and what moſt effectually calls to my mind the happineſs of that Government under which I live. As a *Britiſh* Free-Holder, I ſhould not ſcruple taking place of a *French* Marquis; and when I ſee one of my Countrymen amuſing himſelf in his little cabbage-garden, I naturally look upon him as a greater perſon than the owner of the richeſt vineyard in *Champagne*.

The houſe of Commons is the repreſentative of men in my condition. I conſider myſelf as one, who gives my conſent to every law which paſſes: A Free-Holder in our Government being of the nature of a citizen of *Rome* in that famous Commonwealth; who, by the election of a Tribune, had a kind of remote voice in every law that was enacted. So that a Free-Holder is but one remove from a Legiſlator, and for that reaſon ought to ſtand up in the defence of thoſe laws which are in ſome degree of his own making. For ſuch is the nature of our happy conſtitution, that the bulk of the people virtually give their approbation to every thing they are bound to obey, and preſcribe to themſelves thoſe rules by which they are to walk.

At the ſame time that I declare I am a Free-Holder, I do not exclude myſelf from any other title. A Free-Holder may be either a Voter,

or

or a Knight of the ſhire; a Wit, or a Fox-hunter; a Scholar, or a Soldier; an Alderman, or a Courtier; a Patriot, or a Stock-Jobber. But I chooſe to be diſtinguiſhed by this Denomination, as the Free-Holder is the baſis of all other titles. Dignities may be grafted upon it; but this is the ſubſtantial ſtock that conveys to them their life, taſte, and beauty; and without which they are no more than bloſſoms, that would fall away with every ſhake of wind.

And here I cannot but take occaſion to congratulate my country upon the increaſe of this happy tribe of men, ſince, by the wiſdom of the preſent Parliament, I find the race of Free-Holders ſpreading into the remoteſt corners of the Iſland. I mean that act which paſſed in the late ſeſſion for the encouragement of loyalty in *Scotland*: By which it is provided, 'that all and 'every vaſſal and vaſſals in *Scotland*, who ſhall 'continue peaceable, and in dutiful allegiance 'to his Majeſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, hold-'ing lands or tenements of any offender,' "guilty of high treaſon," 'who holds ſuch 'lands or tenements immediately of the crown, 'ſhall be veſted and ſeized, and are hereby 'enacted and ordained to hold the ſaid lands or 'tenements of his Majeſty, his Heirs and Suc-'ceſſors, in fee and heritage for ever, by ſuch 'manner of holding, as any ſuch offender held 'ſuch lands or tenements of the Crown, *&c.*

By this means it will be in the power of a Highlander to be at all times a good tenant, without being a Rebel; and to deſerve the character of a faithful ſervant, without thinking himſelf obliged to follow his maſter to the gallows.

How can we ſufficiently extol the goodneſs of his preſent Majeſty, who is not willing to have a

ſingle ſlave in his dominions! Or enough rejoice in the exerciſe of that loyalty, which, inſtead of betraying a man into the moſt ignominious ſervitude, (as it does in ſome of our neighbouring Kingdoms) entitles him to the higheſt privileges of freedom and property! It is now to be hoped, that we ſhall have few Vaſſals, but to the laws of our country.

When theſe men have a taſte of property, they will naturally love that conſtitution from which they derive ſo great a bleſſing. There is an unſpeakable pleaſure in calling any thing one's own. A Free-Hold, though it be but in ice and ſnow, will make the owner pleaſed in the poſſeſſion, and ſtout in the defence of it; and is a very proper reward of our allegiance to our preſent King, who, by an unparalled inſtance of goodneſs in a ſovereign, and infatuation in ſubjects, contends for the freedom of his people againſt themſelves; and will not ſuffer many of them to fall into a ſtate of ſlavery, which they are bent upon with ſo much eagerneſs and obſtinacy.

A Free-Holder of *Great-Britain* is bred with an averſion to every thing that tends to bring him under a ſubjection to the arbitrary will of another. Of this we find frequent inſtances in all our hiſtories; where the perſons, whoſe characters are the moſt amiable, and ſtrike us with the higheſt veneration, are thoſe who ſtood up manfully againſt the invaſions of civil liberty, and the complicated tyranny which popery impoſes upon our bodies, our fortunes, and our minds. What a deſpicable figure then muſt the preſent mock-patriots make in the eyes of poſterity, who venture to be hanged, drawn and quartered, for the ruin of thoſe civil rights which

their

their anceſtors, rather than part with, choſe to be cut to pieces in the field of battle? and what an opinion will after-ages entertain of their religion, who bid fair for a gibbet, by endeavouring to bring in a ſuperſtition, which their fore-fathers periſhed in flames to keep out?

But how inſtructive ſoever the folly of theſe men may prove to future times, it will be my buſineſs more immediately to conſult the happineſs of the age in which I live. And ſince ſo many profligate writers have endeavoured to varniſh over a bad cauſe, I ſhall do all in my power to recommend a good one, which indeed requires no more than barely to explain what it is. While many of my gallant countrymen are employed in purſuing Rebels half diſcomfited through the conſciouſneſs of their guilt, I ſhall labour to improve thoſe victories to the good of my fellow-ſubjects; by carrying on our ſucceſſes over the minds of men, and by reconciling them to the cauſe of their King, their Country, and their Religion.

To this end, I ſhall in the courſe of this Paper) to be publiſhed every Monday and Friday) endeavour to open the eyes of my countrymen to their own intereſt, to ſhew them the privileges of an *Engliſh* Free-Holder, which they enjoy in common with myſelf, and to make them ſenſible how theſe bleſſings are ſecured to us by his Majeſty's title, his adminiſtration, and his perſonal character.

I have only one requeſt to make to my Readers, that they will peruſe theſe Papers with the ſame candour and impartiality in which they are written; and ſhall hope for no other prepoſſeſſion in favour of them, than what one would think ſhould be natural to every man, a deſire to be

happy, and a good-will towards thoſe who are the inſtruments of making them ſo.

N°2 Monday, December 26.

Non de domino, ſed de parente loquimur. Intel'igamus ergo bona noſtra, dignoſque nos illius uſu probemus: atque identidem cogitemus, ſi majus principibus præſtemus obſequium, qui ſervitute civium, quàm qui libertate lætantur. Plin.

We are not ſpeaking of a Maſter, but a parent: let us therefore underſtand our own good, and approve ourſelves worthy of him; and let us conſider, which have the beſt claim to our obedience, thoſe Princes who delight in the ſlavery, or thoſe who take pleaſure in the liberty of their ſubjects.

HAVING in my firſt Paper ſet forth the happineſs of my ſtation as a Free-Holder of *Great-Britain*, and the nature of that property which is ſecured to me by the laws of my country, I cannot forbear conſidering, in the next place, that perſon who is intruſted with the guardianſhip and execution of thoſe laws. I have lived in one reign, when the Prince, inſtead of invigorating the laws of our country, or giving them their proper courſe, aſſumed a power of diſpenſing with them: And in another, when the ſovereign was flattered by a ſet of men into a perſuaſion, that the regal authority was unlimited and uncircumſcribed. In either of theſe caſes, good laws are at beſt but a dead letter; and by ſhewing the people how happy they

they ought to be, only ſerve to aggravate the ſenſe of their oppreſſions.

We have the pleaſure at this time to ſee a King upon the throne, who hath too much goodneſs to wiſh for any power, that does not enable him to promote the welfare of his ſubjects; and too much wiſdom to look upon thoſe as his friends, who would make their court to him by the profeſſion of an obedience, which they never practiſed, and which has always proved fatal to thoſe Princes, who have put it to the trial. His Majeſty gave a proof of his ſovereign virtues before he came to the exerciſe of them in this kingdom. His inclination to juſtice led him to rule his *German* ſubjects in the ſame manner that our conſtitution directs him to govern the *Engliſh*. He regarded thoſe which are our civil liberties, as the natural rights of mankind; and therefore indulged them to a people, who pleaded no other claim to them than from his known goodneſs and humanity. This experience of a good Prince, before we had the happineſs to enjoy him, muſt give great ſatisfaction to every thinking man, who conſiders how apt ſovereignty is to deprave human nature; and how many of our own Princes made very ill figures upon the throne, who, before they aſcended it, were the favourites of the people.

What gives us the greateſt ſecurity in the conduct of ſo excellent a Prince, is that conſiſtency of behaviour, whereby he inflexibly purſues thoſe meaſures which appear the moſt juſt and equitable. As he hath the character of being the moſt prudent in laying proper ſchemes; he is no leſs remarkable for being ſteady in accompliſhing what he has once concerted. Indeed, if we look into the hiſtory of his preſent Majeſty, and reflect

upon that wonderful ſeries of ſucceſſes which have attended him, I think they cannot be aſcribed to any thing ſo much as to this uniformity and firmneſs of mind, which has always diſcovered itſelf in his proceedings. It was by this that he ſurmounted thoſe many difficulties that lay in the way to his ſucceſſion; and by which, we have reaſon to hope, he will daily make all oppoſition fall before him. The fickle and unſteady politicks of our late *Britiſh* monarchs have been the perpetual ſource of thoſe diſſenſions and animoſities which have made the nation unhappy: Whereas the conſtant and unſhaken temper of his preſent Majeſty muſt have a natural tendency to the peace of his government, and the unanimity of his people.

While I am enumerating the publick virtues of our Sovereign, which are ſo conducive to the advantage of thoſe who are to obey him, I cannot but take notice, that his Majeſty was bred up from his infancy with a love to this our nation, under a Princeſs, who was the moſt accompliſhed woman of her age, and particularly famous for her affection to the *Engliſh*. Our countrymen were dear to him, before there was any proſpect of their being his ſubjects; and every one knows, that nothing recommended a man ſo much to the diſtinguiſhing civilities of his court, as the being born in *Great-Britain*.

To the fame of his Majeſty's civil virtues, we may add the reputation he has acquired by his martial atchievements. It is obſerved by Sir *William Temple*, that the *Engliſh* are particularly fond of a King who is valiant: Upon which account his Majeſty has a title to all the eſteem that can be paid the moſt warlike Prince; though at the ſame time, for the good of his

ſubjects,

ſubjects, he ſtudies to decline all occaſions of military glory; and chooſes rather to be diſtinguiſhed as the father, than as the captain of his people. I am glad his rebellious ſubjects are too inconſiderable to put him upon exerting that courage and conduct, which raiſed him ſo great a reputation in *Hungary* and the *Morea*, when he fought againſt the enemies of chriſtianity; and in *Germany* and *Flanders*, where he commanded againſt the great diſturber of the peace of *Europe*. One would think there was reaſon for the opinion of thoſe, who make perſonal courage to be an hereditary virtue, when we ſee ſo many inſtances of it in the line of *Brunſwick*. To go no farther back than the time of our preſent King, where can we find, among the ſovereign houſes of *Europe*, any other family, that has furniſhed ſo many perſons of diſtinguiſhed fortitude? Three of his Majeſty's brothers have fallen gloriouſly in the field, fighting againſt the enemies of their native country: And the bravery of his royal highneſs the Prince of *Wales* is ſtill freſh in our memory, who fought, with the ſpirit of his father, at the battle of *Oudenarde*, when the Children of *France*, and the Pretender, fled before him.

I might here take notice of his Majeſty's more private virtues, but have rather choſen to remind my countrymen of the publick parts of his character, which are ſupported by ſuch inconteſtible facts as are univerſally known and acknowledged.

Having thus far conſidered our happineſs in his Majeſty's civil and military character, I cannot forbear pleaſing myſelf with regarding him in the view of one, who has been always fortunate. *Cicero* recommends *Pompey* under this particular

head to the *Romans*, with whom the character of being fortunate was so popular, that several of their Emperors gave it a place among their titles. Good fortune is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence. And whether it proceeds from either of these, or from both together, or whatever may be the cause of it, every one is naturally pleased to see his interests conducted by a person who is used to good success. The establishment of the electoral dignity in his Majesty's family was a work reserved for him finally to accomplish. A large accession of dominion fell to him, by his succeeding to the dukedom of *Zell*, whereby he became one of the greatest Princes of *Germany*; and one of the most powerful persons, that ever stood next heir to the throne of *Great-Britain*. The dutchy of *Bremen*, and the bishoprick of *Osnaburg*, have considerably strengthened his interests in the Empire, and given a great additional weight to the protestant cause. But the most remarkable interpositions of Providence, in favour of him, have appeared in removing those seemingly invincible obstacles to his succession; in taking away, at so critical a juncture, the person who might have proved a dangerous enemy; in confounding the secret and open attempts of his traiterous subjects; and in giving him the delightful prospect of transmitting his power through a numerous and still increasing progeny.

Upon the whole, it is not to be doubted but every wise and honest subject will concur with Providence in promoting the glory and happiness of his present Majesty, who is endowed with all those royal virtues, that will naturally secure to us the national blessings, which ought to be dear and valuable to a free people.

Friday,

N°3 Friday, December 30.

Quibus otio vel magnificè, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quàm pacem malebant. Saluſt.

Thoſe, who had it in their power to live in ſplendor and at their eaſe, preferred uncertainty to certainty, and war to peace.

EVERY one knows that it is uſual for a *French* Officer, who can write and read, to ſet down all the occurrences of a campaign, in which he pretends to have been perſonally concerned; and to publiſh them under the title of his memoirs, when moſt of his fellow-ſoldiers are dead that might have contradicted any of his matters of facts. Many a gallant young fellow has been killed in battle before he came to the third page of his ſecret hiſtory; when ſeveral, who have taken more care of their perſons, have lived to fill a whole volume with their military performances, and to aſtoniſh the world with ſuch inſtances of their bravery, as had eſcaped the notice of every body elſe. One of our late *Preſton* heroes had, it ſeems, reſolved upon this method of doing himſelf juſtice: And, had he not been nipped in the bud, might have made a very formidable figure in his own works, among poſterity. A friend of mine, who had the pillage of his pockets, has made me a preſent of the following memoirs, which he deſires me to accept as a part of the ſpoils of the rebels. I

have

have omitted the introduction, as more proper for the inſpection of a ſecretary of ſtate; and ſhall only ſet down ſo much of the memoirs as ſeem to be a faithful narrative of that wonderful expedition, which drew upon it the eyes of all *Europe*.

" HAVING thus concerted meaſures for a " riſing, we had a general meeting over a " bowl of punch. It was here propoſed by one " of the wiſeſt among us, to draw up a ma- " nifeſto, ſetting forth the grounds and motives " of our taking arms: For, as he obſerved, " there had never yet been an inſurrection in " *England*, where the leaders had not thought " themſelves obliged to give ſome reaſons for " it. To this end we laid our heads together, " to conſider what grievances the nation had " ſuffered under the reign of King *George*. Af- " ter having ſpent ſome hours upon this ſub- " ject, without being able to diſcover any, we " unanimouſly agreed to rebel firſt, and to find " out reaſons for it afterwards. It was indeed " eaſy to gueſs at ſeveral grievances of a pri- " vate nature, which influenced particular per- " ſons. One of us had ſpent his fortune: " Another was a younger brother: a third had " the incumbrance of a father upon his eſtate. " But that which principally diſpoſed us in fa- " vour of the Chevalier was, that moſt of the " company had been obliged to take the ab- " juration oath againſt their will. Being at " length thoroughly inflamed with zeal and " punch, we reſolved to take horſe the next " morning; which we did accordingly, having " been joined by a conſiderable reinforcement " of *Roman Catholicks*, whom we could rely

" upon,

" upon, as knowing them to be the beſt Tories
" in the nation, and avowed enemies to Preſ-
" byterianiſm. We were likewiſe joined by a
" very uſeful aſſociate, who was a fidler by
" profeſſion, and brought in with him a body
" of luſty young fellows, whom he had tweed-
" led into the ſervice. About the third day of
" our march I was made a Colonel; though, I
" muſt need ſay, I gained my commiſſion by
" my horſe's virtues, not my own; having leapt
" over a ſix-bar gate at the head of the cavalry.
" My General, who is a diſcerning man, here-
" upon gave me a regiment, telling me," " He
" did not queſtion but I would do the like when
" I came to the enemy's paliſadoes." " We
" purſued our march with much intrepidity
" through two or three open towns, to the great
" terror of the market-people, and the miſcar-
" riage of half a dozen big-bellied women.
" Notwithſtanding the magiſtracy was general-
" ly againſt us, we could diſcover many friends
" among our ſpectators; particularly in two
" or three balconies, which were filled with
" ſeveral taudry females, who are known in
" that country by the ancient name of Har-
" lots. This ſort of Ladies received us every
" where with great demonſtrations of joy, and
" promiſed to aſſiſt us with their prayers. Af-
" ter theſe ſignal ſucceſſes in the north of
" *England*, it was thought adviſeable by our Ge-
" neral to proceed towards our *Scotch* confe-
" derates. During our firſt day's march I
" amuſed myſelf with conſidering what poſt I
" ſhould accept of under *James* the third, when
" we had put him in poſſeſſion of the *Britiſh*
" dominions. Being a great lover of country
" ſports, I abſolutely determined not to be a

" Miniſter

" Miniſter of State, nor to be fobbed off with
" a garter; until at length paſſing by a noble
" country ſeat which belongs to a Whig, I
" reſolved to beg it; and pleaſed myſelf the
" remainder of the day with ſeveral alterations
" I intended to make in it. For though the
" ſituation was very delightful, I neither liked
" the front of the houſe, nor the avenues that
" led to it. We were indeed ſo confident of
" ſucceſs, that I found moſt of my fellow-
" ſoldiers were taken up with imaginations of
" the ſame nature. There had like to have been
" a duel between two of our ſubalterns upon
" a diſpute which of them ſhould be Governor
" of *Portſmouth*. A Popiſh prieſt about the ſame
" time gave great offence to a *Northumberland*
" Squire, whom he threatened to excommuni-
" cate, if he did not give up to him the church-
" lands, which his family had uſurped ever
" ſince the reformation. In ſhort, every man
" had cut out a place for himſelf in his own
" thoughts; ſo that I could reckon up in our
" little army two or three Lord-Treaſurers, half
" a dozen Secretaries of State, and at leaſt a
" ſcore of Lords Juſtices in Eyre for each ſide
" of *Trent*. We purſued our march through
" ſeveral villages, which we drank dry, making
" proclamation at our entrance, in the name of
" *James* the third, againſt all concealments of
" ale or brandy. Being very much fatigued with
" the action of a whole week, it was agreed
" to reſt on *Sunday*, when we heard a moſt ex-
" cellent ſermon. Our chaplain inſiſted prin-
" cipally upon two heads. Under the firſt he
" proved to us, that the breach of publick
" oaths is no perjury: And under the ſecond,
" expounded to us the nature of non-reſiſtance,

" which

" which might be interpreted from the *Hebrew*,
" to ſignify either loyalty or rebellion, according
" as the Sovereign beſtowed his favours and pre-
" ferments. He concluded with exhorting us, in
" a moſt pathetick manner, to purge the land
" by wholſom ſeverities, and to propagate
" ſound principles by fire and ſword. We ſet
" forward the next day towards our friends at
" *Kelſo*; and by the way had like to have loſt our
" General, and ſome of our moſt active officers.
" For a fox unluckily croſſing the road drew
" off a conſiderable detachment, who clapped
" ſpurs to their horſes, and purſued him with
" whoops and holloos until we had loſt ſight of
" them. A covey of partridges ſpringing in our
" front put our infantry in diſorder on the ſame
" day. It was not long after this that we were
" joined by our friends from the other ſide of the
" *Frith*. Upon the junction of the two corps,
" our ſpies brought us word, that they diſcovered
" a great cloud of duſt at ſome diſtance; upon
" which, we ſent out a party to reconnoitre.
" They returned to us with intelligence, that the
" duſt was raiſed by a great drove of black cat-
" tle. This news was not a little welcome to
" us, the army of both nations being very
" hungry. We quickly formed ourſelves, and
" received orders for the attack, with poſitive
" inſtructions to give no quarter. Every thing
" was executed with ſo much good order, that
" we made a very plentiful ſupper. We had,
" three days after, the ſame ſucceſs againſt a
" flock of ſheep, which we were forced to eat
" with great precipitation, having received ad-
" vice of General *Carpenter*'s march as we were
" at dinner. Upon this alarm we made incre-
" dible ſtretches towards the ſouth, with a de-

" ſign

" ſign to gain the faſtneſſes of *Preſton*. We did
" little remarkable in our way, except ſetting fire
" to a few houſes, and frighting an old woman
" into fits. We had now got a long day's march
" of the enemy; and meeting with a conſidera-
" ble refreſhment of *October*, all the officers
" aſſembled over it, among whom were ſeveral
" Popiſh Lords and Gentlemen, who toſted many
" loyal healths and confuſions, and wept very
" plentifully for the danger of the church. We
" ſat until midnight, and at our parting reſolved
" to give the enemy battle; but the next morning
" changed our reſolutions, and proſecuted our
" march with indefatigable ſpeed. We were no
" ſooner arrived upon the frontiers of *Cumberland*,
" but we ſaw a great body of militia drawn up
" in array againſt us. Orders were given to halt;
" and a council of war was immediately called,
" wherein we agreed, with that great unanimity
" which was ſo remarkable among us, on theſe
" occaſions, to make a retreat. But before we
" could give the word, the train-bands, taking
" advantage of our delay, fled firſt. We arrived
" at *Preſton* without any memorable adventure;
" where, after having formed many barricades,
" and prepared for a vigorous reſiſtance, upon
" the approach of the King's troops under Ge-
" neral *Wills*, who was uſed to the outlandiſh
" way of making war, we think it high time to
" put in practice that paſſive-obedience, in which
" our party ſo much glories, and which I would
" adviſe them to ſtick to for the future."

Such was the end of this rebellion; which, in all probability, will not only tend to the ſafety of our conſtitution, but the preſervation of the game.

Monday,

N°4 Monday, January 2, 1716.

Ne ſe mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bellorum caſus putet, ipſis incipientis matrimonii auſpiciis admonetur, venire ſe laborum periculorumque ſociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio paſſuram auſuramque. Sic vivendum, ſic pereundum.

Tacit. De morib. Germ. 18.

Leſt the Woman ſhould think herſelf exempt from matters of courage, and the hazards of war, ſhe is put in mind, by the very marriage-rites, that ſhe is to ſhare the ſame toils and dangers, whether in peace or war, and to live and die, with her huſband.

IT is with great ſatisfaction I obſerve, that the Women of our iſland, who are the moſt eminent for virtue and good ſenſe, are in the intereſt of the preſent government. As the fair Sex very much recommend the cauſe they are engaged in, it would be no ſmall misfortune to a Sovereign, though he had all the male part of the nation on his ſide, if he did not find himſelf King of the moſt beautiful half of his ſubjects. Ladies are always of great uſe to the party they eſpouſe, and never fail to win over numbers to it. Lovers, according to Sir *William Petty*'s computation, make at leaſt the third part of the ſenſible men of the *Britiſh* nation; and it has been an uncontroverted maxim in all ages, that, though a huſband is ſometimes a ſtubborn ſort of a creature, a lover is always at the devotion of his miſtreſs. By this means it lies in the power of every fine Woman,

to

to ſecure at leaſt half a dozen able-bodied men to his Majeſty's ſervice. The female world are likewiſe indiſpenſably neceſſary in the beſt cauſes to manage the controverſial part of them, in which no man of tolerable breeding is ever able to refute them. Arguments out of a pretty mouth are unanſwerable.

It is indeed remarkable that the inferior tribe of common Women, who are a diſhonour to their Sex, have, in moſt reigns, been the profeſſed ſticklers for ſuch as have acted in oppoſition to the true intereſt of the nation. The moſt numerous converts in King *James*'s reign were particularly noted to be of this kind. I can give no other reaſon for ſuch a behaviour, unleſs it be, that it is not for the advantage of theſe female adventurers the laws of the land ſhould take place, and that they know *Bridewell* is a part of our conſtitution.

There are many reaſons why the women of *Great-Britain* ſhould be on the ſide of the Free-Holder, and enemies to the perſon who would bring in arbitrary government and popery. As there are ſeveral of our Ladies who amuſe themſelves in the reading of travels, they cannot but take notice what uncomfortable lives thoſe of their own Sex lead, where paſſive-obedience is profeſſed and practiſed in its utmoſt perfection. In thoſe countries the men have no property but in their wives, who are the ſlaves to ſlaves: Every married Woman being ſubject to a domeſtick tyrant, that requires from her the ſame vaſſalage which he pays to his Sultan. If the Ladies would ſeriouſly conſider the evil conſequences of arbitrary power, they would find, that it ſpoils the ſhape of the foot in *China*, where the barbarous

barous politicks of the men ſo diminiſh the baſis of the female figure, as to unqualify a Woman for an evening walk or a country dance. In the *Eaſt-Indies* a widow, who has any regard to her character, throws herſelf into the Flames of her huſband's funeral pile, to ſhew, forſooth, that ſhe is faithful and loyal to the memory of her deceaſed Lord. In *Perſia* the daughters of *Eve*, as they call them, are reckoned in the inventory of their goods and chattels: And it is a uſual thing when a man ſells a bale of ſilk, or a drove of camels, to toſs half a dozen Women into the bargain. Through all the dominions of the great Turk, a Woman thinks herſelf happy if ſhe can but get the twelfth ſhare of a huſband, and is thought of no manner of uſe in the creation, but to keep up a proper number of ſlaves for the commander of the faithful. I need not ſet forth the ill uſage, which the fair ones meet with in thoſe deſpotick governments that lie nearer us. Every one hath heard of the ſeveral ways of locking up Women in *Spain* and *Italy*; where, if there is any power lodged in any of the Sex, it is not among the young and the beautiful; whom Nature ſeems to have formed for it, but among the old and withered matrons, known by the frightful name of Gouvernantes and Duegnas. If any ſhould alledge the freedoms indulged to the *French* Ladies, he muſt own that theſe are owing to the natural gallantry of the people, not to their form of government, which excludes by its very conſtitution every female from power, as naturally unfit to hold the ſceptre of that kingdom.

Women ought in reaſon to be no leſs averſe to popery than to arbitrary power. Some merry

Authors

Authors have pretended to demonſtrate, that the Roman Catholick religion could never ſpread in a nation, where Women would have more modeſty than to expoſe their innocent liberties to a Confeſſor. Others of the ſame turn have aſſured us, that the fine *Britiſh* complexion, which is ſo peculiar to our Ladies, would ſuffer very much from a fiſh-diet: And that a whole Lent would give ſuch a ſallowneſs to the celebrated Beauties of this iſland, as would ſcarce make them diſtinguiſhable from thoſe of *France*. I ſhall only leave to the ſerious conſideration of my Country-Women the danger any of them might have been in, had popery been our national religion, of being forced by their relations to a ſtate of perpetual virginity. The moſt blooming toſt in the iſland might have been a Nun; and many a Lady, who is now a mother of fine children, condemned to a condition of life, diſagreeable to herſelf, and unprofitable to the world. To this I might add the melancholy objects they would be daily entertained with, of ſeveral ſightly men delivered over to an inviolable celibacy. Let a young Lady imagine to herſelf the briſk embroidered Officer, who now makes love to her with ſo agreeable an air, converted into a Monk; or the Beau, who now addreſſes himſelf to her in a full-bottomed wig, diſtinguiſhed by a little bald pate covered with a black leather ſcull-cap. I forbear to mention many other objections, which the Ladies, who are no ſtrangers to the doctrines of popery, will eaſily recollect: Though I do not in the leaſt doubt, but thoſe I have already ſuggeſted will be ſufficient to perſuade my fair readers to be zealous in the Proteſtant cauſe.

The

The freedom and happineſs of our *Britiſh* Ladies is ſo ſingular, that it is a common ſaying in foreign countries, 'If a bridge were built 'croſs the ſeas, all the Women in *Europe* would 'flock into *England*.' It has been obſerved, that the laws relating to them are ſo favourable, that one would think they themſelves had given votes in enacting them. All the honours and indulgencies of ſociety are due to them by our cuſtoms; and, by our conſtitution, they have all the privileges of *Engliſh*-born ſubjects, without the burdens. I need not acquaint my fair fellow Free-Holders, that every man, who is anxious for our ſacred and civil rights, is a champion in their cauſe; ſince we enjoy in common a religion agreeable to that reaſonable nature, of which we equally partake; and ſince, in point of property, our law makes no diſtinction of Sexes.

We may therefore juſtly expect from them that they will act in concert with us for the preſervation of our laws and religion, which cannot ſubſiſt, but under the government of his preſent Majeſty; and would neceſſarily be ſubverted, under that of a perſon bred up in the moſt violent principles of popery and arbitrary power. Thus may the fair Sex contribute to fix the peace of a brave and generous people, who for many ages have diſdained to bear any tyranny but theirs; and be as famous in hiſtory, as thoſe illuſtrious matrons, who, in the infancy of *Rome*, reconciled the *Romans* and the *Sabines*, and united the two contending parties under their new King.

Friday,

N° 5 Friday, January 6.

Omnium ſocietatum nulla eſt gravior, nulla carior, quàm ea quæ cum republica eſt unicuique noſtrum: cari ſunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: Sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa eſt: Pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, ſi ei ſit profuturus? Cic.

The ſtrongeſt connexion is that, which every man has with his country; which unites all the endearing relations of parents, children, kindred, and acquaintance; and for whoſe ſervice what good man would not even dare to die?

THERE is no greater ſign of a general decay of Virtue in a nation, than a want of zeal in its inhabitants for the good of their country. This generous and publick-ſpirited paſſion has been obſerved of late years to languiſh and grow cold in this our iſland; where a party of men have made it their buſineſs to repreſent it as chimerical and romantick, to deſtroy in the minds of the people the ſenſe of national glory, and to turn into ridicule our natural and ancient allies, who are united to us by the common intereſts both of religion and policy. It may not therefore be unſeaſonable to recommend to this preſent generation the practice of that virtue, for which their anceſtors were particularly famous, and which is called 'The Love of one's 'Country.' This Love to our Country, as a moral virtue, is a fixed diſpoſition of mind to promote

promote the ſafety, welfare, and reputation of the community in which we are born, and of the conſtitution under which we are protected. Our obligation to this great duty may appear to us from ſeveral conſiderations.

In the firſt place we may obſerve, that we are directed to it by one of thoſe ſecret ſuggeſtions of Nature, which go under the name of Inſtinct, and which are never given in vain. As ſelf-love is an inſtinct planted in us for the good and ſafety of each particular perſon, the Love of our Country is impreſſed on our minds for the happineſs and preſervation of the community. This inſtinct is ſo remarkable, that we find examples of it in thoſe who are born in the moſt uncomfortable climates, or the worſt of governments. We read of an inhabitant of *Nova Zembla*, who, after having lived ſome time in *Denmark*, where he was clothed and treated with the utmoſt indulgence, took the firſt opportunity of making his eſcape, though with the hazard of his life, into his native regions of cold, poverty, and nakedneſs. We have an inſtance of the ſame nature among the very *Hottentots*. One of theſe ſavages was brought into *England*, taught our language, and in a great meaſure poliſhed out of his natural barbarity: But upon being carried back to the *Cape of Good Hope*, where it was thought he might have been of advantage to our *Engliſh* traders, he mixed in a kind of tranſport with his countrymen, brutalized with them in their habit and manners, and would never again return to his foreign Acquaintance. I need not mention the common opinion of the *Negroes* in our plantations, who have no other notion of a future ſtate of happineſs, than that, after death, they ſhall be conveyed back to their native country.

try. The *Swiſs* are ſo remarkable for this paſſion, that it often turns to a diſeaſe among them; for which there is a particular name in the *German* language, and which the *French* call 'The diſ-'temper of the country:' For nothing is more uſual than for ſeveral of their common ſoldiers, who are liſted into a foreign ſervice, to have ſuch violent hankerings after their home, as to pine away even to death, unleſs they have a permiſſion to return; which, on ſuch an occaſion, is generally granted them. I ſhall only add under this head, that ſince the Love of one's Country is natural to every man, any particular nation, who by falſe politicks ſhall endeavour to ſtifle or reſtrain it, will not be upon a level with others.

As this Love of our Country is natural to every man, ſo it is likewiſe very reaſonable; and that in the firſt place, becauſe it inclines us to be beneficial to thoſe who are and ought to be dearer to us than any others. It takes in our families, relations, friends and acquaintance, and, in ſhort, all whoſe welfare and ſecurity we are obliged to conſult, more than that of thoſe who are ſtrangers to us. For this reaſon it is the moſt ſublime and extenſive of all ſocial virtues: Eſpecially, if we conſider that it does not only promote the well-being of theſe who are our contemporaries, but likewiſe of their children and their poſterity. Hence it is that all caſuiſts are unanimous in determining, that when the good of the country interferes even with the life of the moſt beloved relation, deareſt friend, or greateſt benefactor, it is to be preferred without exception.

Farther, though there is a benevolence due to all mankind, none can queſtion but a ſuperior degree of it is to be paid to a father, a wife, or a child.

a child. In the ſame manner, though our love ſhould reach to the whole ſpecies, a greater proportion of it ſhould exert itſelf towards that community in which Providence has placed us. This is our proper ſphere of action, the province allotted to us for the exerciſe of all our civil virtues, and in which alone we have opportunities of expreſſing our good-will to mankind. I could not but be pleaſed, in the accounts of the late *Perſian* embaſſy into *France*, with a particular ceremony of the Ambaſſador; who, every morning, before he went abroad, religiouſly ſaluted a turf of earth dug out of his own native ſoil, to remind him, that in all the tranſactions of the day he was to think of his Country, and purſue its advantages. If, in the ſeveral diſtricts and diviſions of the world, men would thus ſtudy the welfare of thoſe reſpective communities, to which their power of doing good is limited, the whole race of reaſonable creatures would be happy, as far as the benefits of ſociety can make them ſo. At leaſt, we find ſo many bleſſings naturally flowing from this noble principle, that, in proportion as it prevails, every nation becomes a proſperous and flouriſhing people.

It may be yet a further recommendation of this particular virtue, if we conſider that no nation was ever famous for its morals, which was not at the ſame time remarkable for its publick ſpirit: Patriots naturally riſe out of a *Spartan* or *Roman* virtue: And there is no remark more common among the ancient Hiſtorians, than that when the ſtate was corrupted with avarice and luxury, it was in danger of being betrayed, or ſold.

To the foregoing reaſons for the Love which every good man owes to his Country, we may add, that the actions, which are moſt celebrated in hiſtory, and which are read with the greateſt admiration, are ſuch as proceed from this principle. The eſtabliſhing of good laws, the detecting of conſpiracies, the cruſhing of ſeditions and rebellions, the falling in battle, or the devoting of a man's ſelf to certain death for the ſafety of fellow-citizens, are actions that always warm the reader, and endear to him perſons of the remoteſt ages, and the moſt diſtant countries.

And as actions, that proceed from the Love of one's Country, are more illuſtrious than any other in the records of time; ſo we find that thoſe perſons, who have been eminent in other virtues, have been particularly diſtinguiſhed by this. It would be endleſs to produce examples of this kind out of *Greek* and *Roman* Authors. To confine myſelf therefore in ſo wide and beaten a field, I ſhall chooſe ſome inſtances from Holy Writ, which abounds in accounts of this nature, as much as any other hiſtory whatſoever. And this I do the more willingly, becauſe in ſome books lately written, I find it objected againſt revealed religion, that it does not inſpire the Love of one's Country. Here I muſt premiſe, that as the Sacred Author of our religion chiefly inculcated to the *Jews* thoſe parts of their duty wherein they were moſt defective, ſo there was no need of inſiſting upon this: The *Jews* being remarkable for an Attachment to their own Country, even to the excluſion of all common humanity to ſtrangers. We ſee, in the behaviour of this Divine Perſon, the practice of this virtue in conjunction with all others. He deferred working a miracle in the behalf of a *Syro-Phœnician*

Phœnician woman, until he had declared his ſuperior good-will to his own nation; and was prevailed upon to heal the daughter of a *Roman* centurion, by hearing from the *Jews*, that he was one who loved their nation, and had built them a ſynagogue. But, to look out for no other inſtance, what was ever more moving, than his lamentation over *Jeruſalem*, at his firſt approach to it, notwithſtanding he had foretold the cruel and unjuſt treatment he was to meet with in that city! For he foreſaw the deſtruction which in a few years was to fall upon that People; a deſtruction not to be paralleled in any nation, from the beginning of the world to this day; and in the view of it melted into tears. His followers have in many places expreſſed the like ſentiments of affection for their Countrymen, among which none is more extraordinary than that of the great convert, who wiſhed he himſelf might be made a curſe, provided it might turn to the happineſs of his nation; or as he words it,' of his brethren, ' and kinſmen who are Iſraelites.' This Inſtance naturally brings to mind the ſame heroick temper of Soul in the great *Jewiſh* lawgiver, who would have devoted himſelf in the ſame manner, rather than ſee his people periſh. It would indeed be difficult to find out any man of extraordinary piety in the ſacred writings, in whom this virtue in not highly conſpicuous. The reader however will excuſe me, if I take notice of one paſſage, becauſe it is a very fine one, and wants only a place in ſome polite Author of *Greece* or *Rome*, to have been admired and celebrated. The King of *Syria*, lying ſick upon his bed, ſent *Hazael* one of his great officers to the Prophet *Eliſha*, to enquire of him whether he ſhould recover. The Prophet looked ſo

attentively on this meſſenger, that it put him into ſome confuſion; or to quote this beautiful circumſtance, and the whole narrative, in the pathetic language of the Scripture, 'Eliſha ſet-
'tled his countenance ſtedfaſtly upon him, until
'he was aſhamed: And *Hazael* ſaid, why
'weepeth my Lord? And he ſaid, becauſe I
'know the evil that thou wilt do unto the chil-
'dren of *Iſrael:* Their ſtrong holds wilt thou
'ſet on fire, and their men wilt thou ſlay with
'the ſword, and wilt daſh their children, and
'rip up their women with child. And *Ha-*
'*zael* ſaid, but what, is thy ſervant a dog, that
'he ſhould do this great thing? And *Eliſha*
'anſwered, the Lord hath ſhewed me, that thou
'ſhalt be King over *Syria.*'

I might enforce theſe reaſons for the Love of our Country, by conſiderations adapted to my readers, as they are *Engliſhmen*, and as by that means they enjoy a purer religion, and a more excellent form of government, than any other nation under Heaven. But being perſuaded that every one muſt look upon himſelf as indiſpenſably obliged to the practice of a duty, which is recommended to him by ſo many arguments and examples, I ſhall only deſire the honeſt well-meaning reader when he turns his thoughts towards the publick, rather to conſider what opportunities he has of doing good to his native Country, than to throw away his time in deciding the rights of Princes, or the like ſpeculations, which are ſo far beyond his reach. Let us leave theſe great points to the wiſdom of our legiſlature, and to the determination of thoſe, who are the proper judges of our conſtitution. We ſhall otherwiſe be liable to the juſt reproach which is caſt upon ſuch Chriſtians, as waſte their

lives

lives in the ſubtle and intricate diſputes of religion, when they ſhould be practiſing the doctrine which it teaches. If there be any right upon earth, any relying on the judgment of our moſt eminent Lawyers and Divines, or indeed any certainty in human reaſon, our preſent Sovereign has an undoubted title to our duty and obedience. But ſuppoſing for argument's ſake, that this right were doubtful, and that an *Engliſhman* could be divided in his opinion, as to the perſon to whom he ſhould pay his allegiance: In this caſe, there is no queſtion, but the Love of his Country ought to caſt the balance, and to determine him on that ſide, which is moſt conducive to the welfare of his community. To bring this to our preſent caſe. A man muſt be deſtitute of common ſenſe, who is capable of imagining that the Proteſtant religion could flouriſh under the government of a bigotted Roman-catholick, or that our civil rights could be protected by one who has been trained up in the politicks of the moſt arbitrary prince in *Europe*, and who could not acknowledge his gratitude to his benefactor, by any remarkable inſtance, which would not be detrimental to the *Britiſh* nation. And are theſe ſuch deſirable bleſſings, that an honeſt man would endeavour to arrive at them, through the confuſions of a civil war, and the blood of many thouſands of his fellow-ſubjects? On the contrary, the arguments for our ſteady, loyal, and affectionate adherence to King GEORGE, are ſo evident from this ſingle topic, that if every *Briton*, inſtead of aſpiring after private wealth or power, would ſincerely deſire to make his country happy, his preſent Majeſty would not have a ſingle malecontent in his whole dominions.

N°6 Monday, January 9.

Fraus enim astringit, non dissolvit Perjurium. Cic.

Fraud, instead of lessening, enhances Perjury.

AT a time when so many of the King's subjects present themselves before their respective Magistrates to take the Oaths required by law, it may not be improper to awaken in the minds of my readers a due sense of the engagements under which they lay themselves. It is a melancholy consideration, that there should be several among us so hardened and deluded, as to think an Oath a proper subject for a jest; and to make this, which is one of the most solemn acts of religion, an occasion of mirth. Yet such is the depravation of our manners at present, that nothing is more frequent than to hear profligate men ridiculing, to the best of their abilities, these sacred pledges of their duty and allegiance; and endeavouring to be witty upon themselves, for daring to prevaricate with God and man. A poor conceit of their own, or a quotation out of *Hudibras*, shall make them treat with levity an obligation wherein their safety and welfare are concerned both as to this world and the next. Rallery of this nature is enough to make the hearer tremble. As these miscreants seem to glory in the profession of their impiety, there is no man, who has any regard to his duty, or even to his reputation, that can appear in their defence. But if there are others

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of a more ſerious turn, who join with us deliberately in theſe religious profeſſions of loyalty to our Sovereign, with any private ſalvos or evaſions, they would do well to conſider thoſe maxims, in which all caſuiſts are agreed, who have gained any eſteem for their learning, judgment, or morality. Theſe have unanimouſly determined that an Oath is always to be taken in the ſenſe of that authority which impoſes it: And that thoſe whoſe hearts do not concur with their lips in the form of theſe publick proteſtations; or who have any mental reſerves, or who take an Oath againſt their conſciences, upon any motive whatſoever; or with a deſign to break it, or repent of it; are guilty of Perjury. Any of theſe or the like circumſtances, inſtead of alleviating the crime, make it more hainous, as they are premeditated frauds (which it is the chief deſign of an Oath to prevent) and the moſt flagrant inſtances of inſincerity to men, and irreverence to their Maker. For this reaſon, the Perjury of a man, who takes an Oath, with an intention to keep it, and is afterwards ſeduced to the violation of it, (though a crime not to be thought of, without the greateſt horror) is yet, in ſome reſpects, not quite ſo black as the Perjury abovementioned. It is indeed a very unhappy token of the great corruption of our manners, that there ſhould be any ſo inconſiderate among us, as to ſacrifice the ſtanding and eſſential duties of morality to the views of politicks; and that, as, in my laſt Paper, it was not unſeaſonable to prove the love of our country to be a virtue, ſo in this there ſhould be any occaſion to ſhew that Perjury is a Sin. But it is our misfortune to live in an age when ſuch wild and unnatural doctrines have prevailed among ſome of our fellow-ſubjects, that if one looks into their

ſchemes of government, they ſeem, according as they are in the humour, to believe that a Sovereign is not to be reſtrained by his Coronation-Oath, or his people by their Oaths of allegiance: Or to repreſent them in a plainer light in ſome reigns they are both for a power and an obedience that is unlimited, and in others are for retrenching within the narroweſt bounds, both the authority of the Prince and the allegiance of the Subject.

Now the guilt of Perjury is ſo ſelf-evident, that it was always reckoned amongſt the greateſt crimes, by thoſe who were only governed by the light of Reaſon: The inviolable obſerving of an Oath, like the other practical duties of chriſtianity, is a part of natural religion. As reaſon is common to all mankind, the dictates of it are the ſame through the whole ſpecies: And ſince every man's own heart will tell him that there can be no greater affront to the Deity, whom he worſhips, than to appeal to him with an intention to deceive; nor a greater injuſtice to men, than to betray them by falſe aſſurances; it is no wonder that Pagans and Chriſtians, Infidels and Believers, ſhould concur in a point wherein the honour of the Supreme Being, and the welfare of ſociety are ſo highly concerned. For this reaſon, *Pythagoras*, to his firſt precept of honouring the immortal gods, immediately ſubjoins that of paying veneration to an Oath. We may ſee the reverence which the Heathens ſhewed to theſe ſacred and ſolemn engagements, from the inconveniences which they often ſuffered, rather than break through them. We have frequent inſtances of this kind in the *Roman* commonwealth; which, as it has been obſerved by ſeveral eminent *Pagan* writers, very much excelled

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all other *Pagan* governments in the practice of virtue. How far they exceeded, in this particular, thoſe great corrupters of Chriſtianity, and indeed of Natural Religion, the Jeſuits, may appear from their abhorrence of every thing that looked like a fraudulent or mental evaſion. Of this I ſhall only produce the following inſtance. Several *Romans*, who had been taken priſoners by *Hannibal*, were releaſed, upon obliging themſelves by an Oath to return again to his camp. Among theſe there was one, who, thinking to elude the Oath, went the ſame day back to the camp, on pretence of having forgot ſomething. But this prevarication was ſo ſhocking to the *Roman* Senate, that they ordered him to be apprehended, and delivered up to *Hannibal*.

We may farther ſee the juſt ſenſe the Heathens had of the crime of Perjury, from the penalties which they inflicted on the perſons guilty of it. Perjury among the *Scythians* was a capital crime; and among the *Egyptians* alſo was puniſhed with death, as *Diodorus Siculus* relates, who obſerves that an offender of this kind is guilty of thoſe two crimes (wherein the malignity of Perjury truly conſiſts) a failing in his reſpect to the Divinity, and in his faith towards men. It is unneceſſary to multiply inſtances of this nature, which may be found in almoſt every Author who has written on this ſubject.

If men, who had no other guide but their reaſon, conſidered an Oath to be of ſuch a tremendous nature, and the violation of it to be ſo great a crime; it ought to make a much deeper impreſſion upon minds enlightened by revealed religion, as they have more exalted notions of the Divinity. A ſuppoſed heathen deity might be ſo poor in his attributes, ſo ſtinted in his knowledge,

goodneſs, or power, that a Pagan might hope to conceal his Perjury from his notice, or not to provoke him, ſhould he be diſcovered, or ſhould he provoke him, not to be puniſhed by him. Nay, he might have produced examples of falſhood and Perjury in the Gods themſelves, to whom he appealed. But as revealed religion has given us a more juſt and clear idea of the Divine Nature, he, whom we appeal to, is truth itſelf, the great ſearcher of hearts, who will not let fraud and falſhood go unpuniſhed, or 'hold him guiltleſs that taketh his name in vain.' And as with regard to the Deity, ſo likewiſe with regard to man, the obligation of an Oath is ſtronger upon Chriſtians than upon any other part of mankind; and that becauſe charity, truth, mutual confidence, and all other ſocial duties are carryed to greater heights, and enforced with ſtronger motives by the principles of our religion.

Perjury, with relation to the Oaths which are at preſent required of us, has in it all the aggravating circumſtances, which can attend that crime. We take them before the Magiſtrates of publick juſtice; are reminded by the ceremony, that it is a part of that obedience which we learn from the goſpel; expreſly diſavow all evaſions and mental reſervations whatſoever; appeal to Almighty God for the integrity of our hearts, and only deſire him to be our helper, as we fulfil the Oath we there take in his preſence. I mention theſe circumſtances, to which ſeveral other might be added, becauſe it is a received doctrine among thoſe, who have treated of the nature of an Oath, that the greater the ſolemnities are which attend it, the more they aggravate the violation of it. And here what muſt be the ſucceſs that a man can hope for, who

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turns a rebel, after having diſclaimed the divine aſſiſtance, but upon condition of being a faith, ful and loyal ſubject? he firſt of all deſires that God may help him, as he ſhall keep his Oath, and afterwards hopes to proſper in an enterpriſe, which is the direct breach of it.

Since therefore Perjury, by the common ſenſe of mankind, the reaſon of the thing, and from the whole tenor of Chriſtianity, is a crime of ſo flagitious a nature, we cannot be too careful in avoiding every approach towards it.

The virtue of the ancient *Athenians* is very remarkable in the caſe of *Euripides*. This great tragick poet, though famous for the morality of his plays, had introduced a perſon, who, being reminded of an Oath he had taken, replyed 'I 'ſwore with my mouth, but not with my heart.' The impiety of this ſentiment ſet the audience in an uproar; made *Socrates* (though an intimate friend of the poet) go out of the theatre with indignation; and gave ſo great offence, that he was publickly accuſed, and brought upon his trial, as one who had ſuggeſted an evaſion of what they thought the moſt holy and indiſſoluble bond of human ſociety. So jealous were theſe virtuous heathens of any the ſmalleſt hint that might open a way to Perjury.

And here it highly imports us to conſider, that we do not only break our Oath of allegiance by actual rebellion, but by all thoſe other methods which have a natural and manifeſt tendency to it. The guilt may lie upon a man, where the penalty cannot take hold of him. Thoſe who ſpeak irreverently of the perſon to whom they have ſworn allegiance; who endeavour to alienate from him the hearts of his ſubjects; or to inſpire the people with diſaffection to his government,

vernment, cannot be thought to be true to the Oath they have taken. And as for thoſe, who by concerted falſhoods and defamations endeavour to blemiſh his character, or weaken his authority, they incur the complicated guilt both of Slander and Perjury. The moral crime is compleated in ſuch offenders, and there are only accidental circumſtances wanting, to work it up for the cognizance of the law.

Nor is it ſufficient for a man, who has given theſe ſolemn aſſurances to his Prince, to forbear the doing him any evil, unleſs at the ſame time he do him all the good he can in his proper ſtation of life.

Loyalty is of an active nature, and ought to diſcover itſelf in all the inſtances of zeal and affection to our Sovereign: And if we carefully examine the duty of that allegiance which we pledge to his Majeſty, by the Oaths that are tendered to us, we ſhall find that 'We do not 'only renounce, refuſe, and abjure any allegiance 'or obedience to the Pretender, but ſwear to 'defend King *George* to the utmoſt of our power, 'againſt all traiterous conſpiracies and attempts 'whatſoever, and to diſcloſe and make known 'to his Majeſty all treaſons and traiterous con-'ſpiracies, which we ſhall know to be againſt him.'

To conclude; as among thoſe who have bound themſelves by theſe ſacred obligations, the actual traitor or rebel is guilty of Perjury in the eye of the law; the ſecret promoter or well-wiſher of the cauſe is ſo before the tribunal of conſcience. And though I ſhould be unwilling to pronounce the man who is indolent, or indifferent in the cauſe of his Prince, to be abſolutely perjured; I may venture to affirm, that he falls very ſhort of that allegiance to which he is obliged by Oath.

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Upon the whole we may be aſſured, that in a nation which is tied down by ſuch religious and ſolemn engagements, the peoples loyalty will keep pace with their morality; and that in proportion as they are ſincere Chriſtians, they will be faithful Subjects.

N°7 Friday, January 13.

Veritas pluribus modis infracta: Primùm inſcitiâ rei-publicæ; ut alienæ; mox libidine aſſentandi, aut rurſus odiò adverſus dominantes. Obtrectatio & livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi fœdum crimen ſervitutis, malignitati falſa ſpecies libertatis ineſt. Tacit. Hiſtor. 1. 1.

Truth is infringed ſeveral ways; either through ignorance of publick affairs, the luſt of flattery, or hatred of the Government. We liſten with pleaſure to envy and detraction, becauſe flattery is the vice of ſlaves, but malignity carries with it the falſe appearance of liberty.

THERE is no greater ſign of a bad cauſe, than when the patrons of it are reduced to the neceſſity of making uſe of the moſt wicked artifices to ſupport it. Of this kind are the falſhoods and calumnies, which are invented and ſpread abroad by the enemies to our King and Country. This ſpirit of malice and ſlander does not diſcover itſelf in any inſtances ſo ridiculous, as in thoſe, by which ſeditious Men endeavour to depreciate his Majeſty's perſon and family; without conſidering that his court at *Hanover* was always allowed

allowed to be one of the politeſt in *Europe*, and that before he became our King, he was reckoned amongſt the greateſt Princes of *Chriſtendom*.

But the moſt glorious of his Majeſty's predeceſſors was treated after the ſame manner. Upon that Prince's firſt arrival, the inconſiderable party, who then laboured to make him odious to the people, gave out, that he brought with him twenty thouſand *Laplanders*, clothed in the ſkins of bears, all of their own killing; and that they mutinied becauſe they had not been regaled with a bloody battle within two days after their landing. He was no ſooner on the Throne, than thoſe, who had contributed to place him there, finding that he had made ſome changes at court which were not to their humour, endeavoured to render him unpopular by miſrepreſentation of his perſon, his character, and his actions. They found that his Noſe had a reſemblance to that of *Oliver Cromwell*, and clapt him on a huge pair of muſtachoes to frighten his people with: his mercy was fear; his juſtice was cruelty; his temperance, oeconomy, prudent behaviour, and application to buſineſs, were *Dutch* virtues; and ſuch as we had not been uſed to in our *Engliſh* Kings. He did not fight a battle, in which the Tories did not ſlay double the number or what he had loſt in the field, nor ever raiſed a ſiege or gained a victory, which did not coſt more than it was worth. In ſhort, he was contriving the ruin of his Kingdom; and in order to it advanced Dr. *Tillotſon* to the higheſt ſtation of the Church, my Lord *Sommers* of the Law, Mr. *Montague* of the Treaſury, and the Admiral at *la Hogue* of the Fleet. Such were the calumnies of the party in thoſe times, which we ſee ſo faithfully copied out by men of the

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ſame principles under the Reign of his preſent Majeſty.

As the ſchemes of theſe Gentlemen are the moſt abſurd and contradictory to common ſenſe, the means by which they are promoted muſt be of the ſame nature. Nothing but weakneſs and folly can diſpoſe *Engliſhmen* and *Proteſtants* to the intereſts of a *Popiſh Pretender*: And the ſame abilities of Mind will naturally qualify his adherents to ſwallow the moſt palpable and notorious falſhoods. Their ſelf-intereſted and deſigning leaders cannot deſire a more ductile and eaſy people to work upon. How long was it before many of this ſimple deluded tribe were brought to believe, that the *Highlanders* were a generation of men that could be conquered! The rabble of the party were inſtructed to look upon them as ſo many Giants and Saracens; and were very much ſurpriſed to find that every one of them had not with his broad ſword mowed down at leaſt a ſquadron of the King's forces. There were not only publick rejoicings in the camp at *Perth*, but likewiſe many private congratulations nearer us, among theſe well-wiſhers to their Country, upon the victories of their friends at *Preſton*; which continued till the Rebels made their ſolemn Cavalcade from *Highgate*. Nay, there were then ſome of theſe wiſe partizans, who concluded, the government had hired two or three hundred hale Men, who looked like fox-hunters, to be bound and pinioned, if not to be executed, as repreſentatives of the pretended captives. Their victories in *Scotland* have been innumerable; and no longer ago than laſt week, they gained a very remarkable one, in which the *Highlanders* cut off all the *Dutch* forces to a man; and afterwards diſguiſing themſelves in their habits,

habits, came up as friends to the King's troops, and put them all to the ſword. This ſtory had a great run for a day or two; and I believe one might ſtill find out a whiſper among their ſecret Intelligence, that the Duke of *Mar* is actually upon the road to *London*, if not within two days march of the town. I need not take notice that their ſucceſſes in the battle of *Dunblain* are magnified among ſome of them to this day; though a Tory may very well ſay with King *Pyrrhus*, 'that ſuch another victory would undo them.

But the moſt fruitful ſource of falſhood and calumny, is that which, one would think, ſhould be the leaſt apt to produce them; I mean a pretended concern for the ſafety of our eſtabliſhed religion. Were theſe people as anxious for the doctrines which are eſſential to the Church of *England*, as they are for the nominal diſtinction of adhering to its intereſts, they would know, that the ſincere obſervation of publick Oaths, allegiance to their King, ſubmiſſion to the Biſhops, zeal againſt Popery, and abhorrence of Rebellion, are the great points that adorn the character of the Church of *England*, and in which the Authors of the Reformed religion in this nation have always gloried. We juſtly reproach the Jeſuits, who have adapted all Chriſtianity to temporal and political views, for maintaining a poſition ſo repugnant to the laws of Nature, Morality and Religion, that evil may be committed for the ſake of good, which may ariſe from it. But we cannot ſuppoſe even this principle, (as bad a one as it is) ſhould influence thoſe perſons, who, by ſo many abſurd and monſtrous falſhoods, endeavour to delude men into a belief of the danger of the Church. If there be any relying on the ſolemn declarations

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of a Prince, famed for keeping his word, conſtant in the publick exerciſes of our religion, and determined in the maintenance of our laws, we have all the aſſurances that can be given to us, for the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed Church under his Government. When a leading man therefore begins to grow apprehenſive for the Church, you may be ſure that he is either in danger of loſing a place, or in deſpair of getting one. It is pleaſant on theſe occaſions, to ſee a notorious profligate ſeized with a concern for his religion, and converting his ſpleen into zeal. Theſe narrow and ſelfiſh views have ſo great an influence in this cry, that, among thoſe who call themſelves the landed intereſt, there are ſeveral of my fellow-Free-Holders, who always fancy the Church in danger upon the riſing of bank-ſtock. But the ſtanding abſurdities, without the belief of which no man is reckoned a ſtanch Churchman, are, that there is a Calve's-head Club; for which (by the way) ſome pious Tory has made ſuitable hymns and Devotions: That there is a confederacy among the greateſt part of the Prelates to deſtroy Epiſcopacy; and that all, who talk againſt Popery, are Preſbyterians in their Hearts. The emiſſaries of the party are ſo diligent in ſpreading ridiculous fictions of this kind, that at preſent, if we may credit common report, there are ſeveral remote parts of the Nation in which it is firmly believed, that all the Churches in *London* are ſhut up; and that if any Clergyman walks the ſtreet in his habit, it is ten to one but he is knocked down by ſome ſturdy ſchiſmatick.

We may obſerve upon this occaſion, that there are many particular falſhoods ſuited to the particular climates and latitudes in which they are publiſhed, according as the ſituation of the place

makes

makes them leſs liable to diſcovery: There is many a lye, that will not thrive within a hundred miles of *London:* Nay, we often find a lye born in *Southwark*, that dies the ſame day on this ſide the water: and ſeveral produced in the loyal ward of Port-ſoken of ſo feeble a make, as not to bear carriage to the Royal Exchange. However as the mints of calumny are perpetually at work, there are a great number of curious inventions iſſued out from time to time, which grew current among the party, and circulate through the whole kingdom.

As the deſign of this Paper is not to exaſperate, but to undeceive my countrymen, let me deſire them to conſider the many inconveniencies they bring upon themſelves by theſe mutual intercourſes of credulity and falſhood. I ſhall only remind the credulous of the ſtrong deluſion they have by this means been led into the greateſt part of their lives. Their hopes have been kept up by a ſucceſſion of lies for near thirty Years. How many perſons have ſtarved in expectation of thoſe profitable employments which were promiſed them by the authors of theſe forgeries! How many of them have died with great regret, when they thought they were within a month of enjoying the ineſtimable bleſſings of a popiſh and arbitrary reign!

I would therefore adviſe this blinded ſet of men, not to give credit to thoſe perſons, by whom they have been ſo often fooled and impoſed upon; but on the contrary to think it an affront to their parts, when they hear from any of them ſuch accounts, as they would not dare to tell them, but upon the preſumption that they are idiots. Or if their zeal for the cauſe ſhall diſpoſe them to be credulous in any points that are favourable

vourable to it, I would beg of them not to venture wagers upon the truth of them: And in this preſent conjuncture, by no means to ſell out of the ſtocks upon any news they ſhall hear from their good friends at *Perth*. As theſe party fictions are the proper ſubjects of mirth and laughter, their deluded believers are only to be treated with pity or contempt. But as for thoſe incendiaries of figure and diſtinction, who are the inventors and publiſhers of ſuch groſs falſhoods and calumnies, they cannot be regarded by others, but with the utmoſt deteſtation and abhorrence; nor, one would think, by themſelves, without the greateſt remorſe and compunction of heart; when they conſider, that in order to give a ſpirit to a deſperate cauſe, they have, by their falſe and treacherous Inſinuations and reports betrayed ſo many of their friends into their own deſtruction.

N°8 Monday, January 16.

Adveniet qui veſtra dies muliebribus armis
Verba redarguerit. Virg. Æn. 11. ver. 687.

Here ceaſe thy vaunts, and own my victory;
A woman-warrior was too ſtrong for thee.
DRYDEN.

I Have heard that ſeveral Ladies of diſtinction, upon the reading of my fourth Paper, are ſtudying methods how to make themſelves uſeful to the public. One has a deſign of keeping an open tea-table, where every man ſhall be welcome

come that is a friend to King *George*. Another is for ſetting up an aſſembly for Baſſet, where none ſhall be admitted to punt, that have not taken the Oaths. A third is upon an invention of a dreſs which will put every Tory Lady out of countenance: I am not informed of the particulars, but am told in general, that ſhe has contrived to ſhew her principles by the ſetting of her commode; ſo that it will be impoſſible for any woman, that is diſaffected, to be in the faſhion. Some of them are of opinion that the fan may be made uſe of, with good ſucceſs againſt Popery, by exhibiting the corruptions of the Church of *Rome* in various figures; and that their abhorrence of the ſuperſtitious uſe of beads may be very aptly expreſſed in the make of a pearl necklace. As for the civil part of our conſtitution, it is unanimouſly agreed among the leaders of the Sex, that there is no glory in making a man their ſlave, who has not naturally a paſſion for liberty; and to diſallow of all profeſſions of paſſive obedience, but from a Lover to his Miſtreſs.

It happens very luckily for the intereſt of the Whigs, that their very enemies acknowledge the fineſt women of *Great-Britain* to be of that party. The Tories are forced to borrow their toſts from their antagoniſts; and can ſcarce find beauties enow of their own ſide, to ſupply a ſingle round of *October*. One may, indeed, ſometimes diſcover, among the malignants of the Sex, a face that ſeems to have been naturally deſigned for a Whig Lady: But then it is ſo often fluſhed with rage, or ſoured with diſappointments, that one cannot but be troubled to ſee it thrown away upon the Owner. Would the pretty malecontent be perſuaded to

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love her King and Country, it would diffuſe a chearfulneſs through all her features, and give her quite another air. I would therefore adviſe theſe my gentle Readers, as they conſult the good of their faces, to forbear frowning upon Loyaliſts, and pouting at the Government. In the mean time, what may we not hope from a cauſe, which is recommended by the allurement of beauty, and the force of truth! It is therefore to be hoped that every fine woman will make this laudable uſe of her charms; and that ſhe may not want to be frequently reminded of this great duty, I will only deſire her to think of her country every time ſhe looks in her glaſs.

But becauſe it is impoſſible to preſcribe ſuch rules, as ſhall be ſuitable to the ſex in general, I ſhall conſider them under their ſeveral diviſions of Maids, Wives, and Widows.

As for Virgins, who are unexperienced in the wiles of men, they would do well to conſider how little they are to rely on the faith of Lovers, who in leſs than a year have broken their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign; and what credit is to be given to the vows and proteſtations of ſuch who ſhew themſelves ſo little afraid of Perjury. Beſides, what would an innocent young Lady think, ſhould ſhe marry a man without examining his principles, and afterwards find herſelf got with child by a Rebel?

In the next place, every wife ought to anſwer for her man. If the huſband be engaged in a ſeditious Club, or drinks myſterious healths, or be frugal of his candles on a rejoicing night, let her look to him, and keep him out of harms way; or the world will be apt to ſay, ſhe has a mind to be a Widow before her time. She ought in ſuch caſes to exert the authority of the curtain-

lecture;

lecture; and if she finds him of a rebellious disposition, to tame him, as they do birds of prey, by dinning him in the ears all night long.

Widows may be supposed Women of too good sense not to discountenance all practices, that have a tendency to the destruction of mankind. Besides they have a greater interest in property than either Maids or Wives, and do not hold their jointures by the precarious tenure of portions and Pin-money: so that it is as unnatural for a Dowager, as a Free-Holder, to be an enemy to our constitution.

As nothing is more instructive than examples, I would recommend to the perusal of our *British* Virgins the story of *Clelia* a *Roman* spinster, whose behaviour is represented, by all their historians, as one of the chief motives that discouraged the *Tarquins* from prosecuting their attempt to regain the throne, from whence they had been expelled. Let the married woman reflect upon the glory acquired by the wife of *Coriolanus*, who, when her husband, after long exile, was returning into his country with fire and sword, diverted him from so cruel and unnatural an enterprise. And let those who have out-lived their husbands never forget their country-woman widow *Boadicia*, who headed her troops in person against the invasion of a *Roman* army, and encouraged them with this memorable saying, 'I, who am a woman, am resolved upon 'victory or death: but as for you who are men, 'you may, if you please, choose life and slavery.'

But I do not propose to our *British* Ladies, that they should turn *Amazons* in the service of their Sovereign, nor so much as let their nails grow for the defence of their country. The men will take the work of the field off their hands, and shew

ſhew the world that *Engliſh* valour cannot be matched, when it is animated by *Engliſh* beauty. I do not however diſapprove the project which is now on foot for a FEMALE ASSOCIATION; and, ſince I hear the fair confederates cannot agree among themſelves upon a form, ſhall preſume to lay before them the following rough draught, to be corrected or improved, as they in their wiſdom ſhall think fit.

'WE the Conſorts, Relicts, and Spinſters of 'the iſle of *Great-Britain*, whoſe names 'are under written, being moſt paſſionately of- 'fended at the falſhood and perfidiouſneſs of 'certain faithleſs men, and at the lukewarmth 'and indifference of others, have entered into a 'voluntary aſſociation for the good and ſafety 'of our conſtitution. And we do hereby en- 'gage ourſelves to raiſe and arm our vaſſals for 'the ſervice of his Majeſty King *George*, and 'him to defend with our tongues and hearts, 'our eyes, eye-laſhes, favourites, lips, dimples, 'and every other feature, whether natural or 'acquired. We promiſe publickly and openly 'to avow the loyalty of our principles in every 'word we ſhall utter, and every patch we 'ſhall ſtick on. We do farther promiſe, to 'annoy the enemy with all the flames, darts 'and arrows with which nature has armed us; 'never to correſpond with them by ſigh, ogle, 'or billet-doux; not to have any intercourſe 'with them either in ſnuff or tea; nor to ac- 'cept the civility of any man's hand, who is 'not ready to uſe it in the defence of his country. 'We are determined in ſo good a cauſe to en- 'dure the greateſt hardſhips and ſeverities, if 'there ſhould be occaſion; and even to wear

'the

'the manufacture of our country, rather than 'appear the friends of a foreign intereſt in the 'richeſt *French* brocade. And forgetting all 'private feuds, jealouſies and animoſities, we 'do unanimouſly oblige ourſelves, by this our 'aſſociation, to ſtand and fall by one another, 'as loyal and faithful ſiſters, and fellow-'ſubjects.

N. B. This aſſociation will be lodged at Mr. *Motteux*'s, where attendance will be given to the ſubſcribers, who are to be ranged in their reſpective columns, as Maids, Wives, and Widows.

N° 9. Friday, January 20.

Conſilia qui dant prava cautis hominibus,
Et perdunt operam, & deridenter turpiter.
Phædr. Fab. 25. l. 1.

They, who give bad advice to the prudent, not only loſe their labour, but expoſe themſelves to contempt.

THough I have already ſeen, in The Town Talk, a letter from a celebrated *Engliſhman* to the Pretender, which is indeed an excellent anſwer to his declaration, the title of this Paper obliges me to publiſh the following piece, which conſiders it in different lights.

The Declaration of the Free-Holders of *Great-Britain*, in anſwer to that of the Pretender.

WE, by the mercy of God, Free-Holders of *Great-Britain*, to the Popiſh Pretender, who ſtiles himſelf King of *Scotland* and *England*, and

and Defender of our faith, DEFIANCE. Having ſeen a libel, which you have lately publiſhed againſt the King and people of theſe realms under the title of a DECLARATION, we, 'in juſtice to the ſentiments of our own hearts, have thought fit to return you the following anſwer; wherein we ſhall endeavour to reduce to method the ſeveral particulars, which you have contrived to throw together with much malice, and no leſs confuſion.

We believe you ſincere in the firſt part of your Declaration, where you own it would be a great ſatisfaction to you to be placed upon the throne by our endeavours: But you diſcourage us from making uſe of them, by declaring it to be your right 'both by the Laws of God and man.' As for the Laws of God, we ſhould think ourſelves great tranſgreſſors of them, ſhould we for your ſake rebel againſt a Prince, who, under God, is the moſt powerful Defender of that religion which we think the moſt pleaſing to him: And as for the Laws of Man, we conceive thoſe to be of that kind, which have been enacted from time to time for near thirty years paſt, againſt you and your pretenſions, by the Legiſlature of this kingdom.

You afterwards proceed to invectives againſt the royal family: Which we do aſſure you is a very unpopular topick, except to your few deluded friends among the rabble.

You call them Aliens to our Country, not conſidering that King *George* has lived above a year longer in *England* than ever you did. You ſay they are diſtant in blood, whereas no body ever doubted that King *George* is great grandſon to King *James* the firſt, though many believe that you are not ſon to King *James* the ſecond.

Beſides, all the world acknowledges he is the neareſt to our crown of the Proteſtant blood, of which you cannot have one drop in your veins, unleſs you derive it from ſuch parents as you don't care for owning.

Your next argument againſt the royal family, is, that they are Strangers to our Language: But they muſt be Strangers to the *Britiſh* court who have told you ſo. However you muſt know, that we plain Men ſhould prefer a King who was a Stranger to our language, before one who is a Stranger to our Laws and Religion; for we could never endure *French* ſentiments, though delivered in our native dialect; and ſhould abhor an arbitrary Prince, though he tyrannized over us in the fineſt *Engliſh* that ever was ſpoken. For theſe reaſons, Sir, we cannot bear the thought of hearing a man, that has been bred up in the politicks of *Lewis* the fourteenth, talk intelligibly from the *Britiſh* throne; eſpecially when we conſider, however he may boaſt of his ſpeaking *Engliſh*, he ſays his prayers in an unknown tongue.

We come now to the grievances for which in your opinion, we ought to take up arms againſt our preſent Sovereign. The greateſt you ſeem to inſiſt upon, and which is moſt in the mouths of your party, is the union of the two Kingdoms; for which his Majeſty ought moſt certainly to be depoſed, becauſe it was made under the reign of her, whom you call your Dear Siſter of glorious memory. Other grievances which you hint at under his Majeſty's adminiſtration, are, the murder of King *Charles* the firſt, who was beheaded before King *George* was born; and the ſufferings of King *Charles* the ſecond, which perhaps his preſent Majeſty cannot

not wholly clear himſelf of, becauſe he came into the world a day before his reſtoration.

As on the other ſide you arraign his preſent Majeſty by this moſt extraordinary retroſpect, on the other hand you condemn his government by what we may call the ſpirit of ſecond ſight. You are not content to draw into his reign thoſe miſchiefs that were done a hundred year ago, unleſs you anticipate thoſe that may happen a hundred years hence. So that the keeneſt of your arrows either fall ſhort of him, or fly over his Head. We take it for a certain ſign that you are at a loſs for preſent grievances, when you are thus forced to have recourſe to your future Proſpects, and future Miſeries. Now, Sir, you muſt know that we Free-Holders have a natural averſion to hanging, and don't know how to anſwer it to our wives and families, if we ſhould venture our necks upon the truth of your propheſies. In our ordinary way of judging, we gueſs at the King's future conduct by what we have ſeen already; and therefore beg you will excuſe us if for the preſent we defer entering into a rebellion, to which you ſo graciouſly invite us. When we have as bad a proſpect of our King *George*'s reign, as we ſhould have of yours, then will be your time to date another declaration from your court at *Commercy*: which, if we may be allowed to propheſy in our turn, cannot poſſibly happen before the hundred and fiftieth year of your reign.

Having conſidered the paſt and future grievances mentioned in your Declaration, we come now to the preſent; all of which are founded upon this ſuppoſition, that whatever is done by his Majeſty or his Miniſters to keep you out of

the *Britiſh* throne, is a grievance. Theſe, Sir, may be grievances to you, but they are none to us. On the contrary, we look upon them as the greateſt inſtances of his Majeſty's care and tenderneſs for his people. To take them in order: The firſt relates to the Miniſtry; who are choſen, as you obſerve very rightly, out of the worſt, and not the beſt of your ſubjects. Now, Sir, can you in conſcience think us to be ſuch fools as to rebel againſt the King, for having employed thoſe who are his moſt eminent friends, and were the greateſt ſufferers in his cauſe before he came to the crown; and for having removed a General who is now actually in arms againſt him, and two Secretaries of ſtate, both of whom have liſted themſelves in your ſervice; or becauſe he choſe to ſubſtitute in their places ſuch men who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal againſt you, in the moſt famous battles, negotiations, and debates?

The ſecond grievance you mention, is, that the glory of the late Queen has ſuffered, who, you inſinuate, 'had ſecured to you the enjoyment 'of that inheritance, out of which you had been 'ſo long kept.' This may indeed be a reaſon why her memory ſhould be precious with you: But you may be ſure we ſhall think never the better of her, for her having your good word. For the ſame reaſon it makes us ſtare, when we hear it objected to his preſent Majeſty, 'That 'he is not kind to her faithful ſervants;' ſince, if we can believe what you yourſelf ſay, it is impoſſible they ſhould be 'his faithful ſervants.' And by the way, many of your private friends here wiſh you would forbear blabbing at this rate: For, to tell you a ſecret, we are very apt to

ſuſpect

ſuſpect that any *Engliſhman*, who deſerves your praiſe, deſerves to be hanged.

The next grievance, which you have a mighty mind to redreſs among us, is the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, againſt whom you bring a ſtale accuſation which has been uſed by every minority in the memory of man; namely, that it was procured by unwarrantable influences and corruptions. We cannot indeed blame you for being angry at thoſe, who have ſet ſuch a round price upon your Head. Your accuſation of our high court of Parliament puts us in mind of a ſtory, often told among us Free-Holders, concerning a rattle-brain'd young fellow, who, being indicted for two or three pranks upon the highway, told the judge he would ſwear the peace againſt him, for putting him in fear of his life.

The next grievance is ſuch a one, that we are amazed how it could come into your head. Your words are as follow. 'Whilſt the prin-'cipal powers enaged in the late wars do enjoy 'the bleſſings of peace, and are attentive to diſ-'charge their debts and eaſe their people, *Great-'Britain* in the midſt of peace feels all the load 'of war. New Debts are contracted, new 'Armies are raiſed at home, *Dutch* forces are 'brought into theſe kingdoms.' What in the name of wonder do you mean? Are you in earneſt, or do you deſign to banter us? Whom is the nation obliged to for all this load of war that it feels? Had you been wiſe enough to have ſlept at *Barleduc* in a whole ſkin, we ſhould not have contracted new debts, raiſed new armies, or brought over *Dutch* forces to make an example of you.

The moſt pleaſant grievance is ſtill behind, and indeed a moſt proper one to cloſe up this article.

'King *George* has taken poſſeſſion of the dutchy 'of *Bremen*, whereby a door is opened to let in 'an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and 'to reduce theſe nations to the ſtate of a province 'to one of the moſt inconſiderable provinces of 'the Empire.' And do you then really believe the mob-ſtory, that King *George* deſigns to make a bridge of boats from *Hanover* to *Wapping?* We would have you know that ſome of us read *Baker*'s Chronicle, and do not find that *William* the Conqueror ever thought of making *England* a province to his native dutchy of *Normandy*, notwithſtanding it lay ſo much more convenient for that purpoſe: Nor that King *James* the firſt had ever any thoughts of reducing this nation to the ſtate of a province to his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, though it lies upon the ſame continent. But pray how comes it to paſs that the electorate of *Hanover* is become all of a ſudden one of the moſt inconſiderable provinces of the Empire? If you undervalue it upon the account of its religion, you have ſome reaſon for what you ſay; though you ſhould not think we are ſuch ſtrangers to maps, and live ſo much out of the world, as to be ignorant that it is for power and extent the ſecond proteſtant ſtate in *Germany*; and whether you know it or no, the proteſtant religion in the Empire is looked upon as a ſufficient balance againſt Popery. Beſides, you ſhould have conſidered that, in your declaration upon the King's coming to the throne of *Great-Britain*, you endeavour to terrify us from receiving him, by repreſenting him 'as a powerful foreign 'Prince ſupported by a numerous army of his own 'ſubjects.' Be that as it will; we are no more afraid of being a province to *Hanover*, than the *Hanoverians* are apprehenſive of being a province to *Bremen*.

We

We have now taken notice of thoſe great evils, which you are come to reſcue us from: But as they are ſuch as we have neither felt or ſeen, we deſire you will put yourſelf to no farther trouble for our ſakes.

You afterward begin a kind of *Te Deum*, before the time, in that remarkable ſentence, 'We 'adore the wiſdom of the divine Providence, 'which has opened a way to our reſtoration, 'by the ſucceſs of thoſe very meaſures that were 'laid to diſappoint us for ever.' We are at a loſs to know what you mean by this devout jargon: But by what goes before and follows, we ſuppoſe it to be this: That the coming of King *George* to the crown has made many malecontents, and by that means opened a way to your reſtoration; whereas, you ſhould conſider, that if he had not come to the crown, the way had been open of itſelf. In the ſame pious paragraph, 'You moſt 'earneſtly conjure us to purſue thoſe methods for 'your reſtoration, which the finger of God ſeems 'to point out to us.' Now the only methods which we can make uſe of for that end, are civil war, rapine, bloodſhed, treaſon, and perjury; methods which we proteſtants do humbly conceive can never be pointed out to us by the finger of God.

The reſt of your Declaration contains the encouragements you give us to rebel. Firſt, you promiſe to ſhare with us all Dangers and Difficulties which we ſhall meet with in this worthy enterpriſe. You are very much in the right on it: You have nothing to loſe, and hope to get a Crown. We do not hope for any new Free-Holds, and only deſire to keep what we have. As therefore you are in the right to undergo dangers and difficulties to make yourſelf

our maſter, we ſhall think ourſelves as much in the right to undergo dangers and difficulties to hinder you from being ſo.

Secondly, you promiſe to 'refer your and our 'intereſt to a *Scotch* Parliament,' which you are reſolved to call immediately. We ſuppoſe you mean if the froſt holds. But, Sir, we are certainly informed there is a Parliament now ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, that are buſy at preſent in taking care both of the *Scotch* and *Engliſh* intereſt, and have actually done every thing which you would let be done by our repreſentatives in the highlands.

Thirdly, you promiſe 'that if we will rebel for 'you againſt our preſent Sovereign, you will remit 'and diſcharge all crimes of high-treaſon, miſ-'priſion, and all other crimes and offences what-'ſoever, done or committed againſt you or your 'father.' But will you anſwer in this caſe that King *George* will forgive us? Otherwiſe we beſeech you to conſider what poor comfort it would be for a *Britiſh* Free-Holder to be conveyed up *Holbourn*, with your pardon in his pocket. And here we cannot but remark, that the conditions of your general pardon are ſo ſtinted, as to ſhew that you are very cautious leſt your good-nature ſhould carry you too far. You exclude from the benefit of it all thoſe who do not, 'from the 'time of your landing lay hold on mercy, and 'return to their duty and allegiance.' By this means all neuters and lookers on are to be executed of courſe: And by the ſtudied ambiguity in which you couch the terms of your gracious pardon, you ſtill leave room to gratify yourſelf in all the pleaſures of tyranny and revenge.

Upon the whole, we have ſo bad an opinion of rebellion, as well as of your motives to it, and

and rewards for it, that you may reſt ſatisfied, there are few Free-Holders on this ſide the *Forth* who will engage in it: And we verily believe that you will ſuddenly take a reſolution in your cabinet of Highlanders to ſcamper off with your new Crown, which we are told the ladies of thoſe parts have ſo generouſly clubbed for. And you may aſſure yourſelf, that it is the only one you are like to get by this notable Expedition. And ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

Dated *Jan.* 19, in the
ſecond year of our
Publick Happineſs.

N° 10 Monday, January 23.

Potior viſa eſt periculoſa libertas quieto ſervitio.
Saluſt. Fragm. l. i.

Liberty with danger is preferable to ſervitude with ſecurity.

ONE may venture to affirm, that all honeſt and diſintereſted *Britons* of what party ſoever, if they underſtood one another, are of the ſame Opinion in points of government: And that the groſs of the people, who are impoſed upon by terms which they do not comprehend, are Whigs in their Hearts. They are made to believe, that paſſive obedience and non reſiſtance, unlimited power and indefeaſible right, have ſomething of a venerable and religious meaning in them; whereas in reality they only imply that a King of *Great-Britain* has a right to be a

tyrant, and that his ſubjects are obliged in conſcience to be ſlaves. Were the caſe truly and fairly laid before them, they would know, that, when they make a profeſſion of ſuch principles, they renounce their legal claim to liberty and property, and unwarily ſubmit to what they really abhor.

It is our happineſs under the preſent reign, to hear our King from the throne exhorting us to be 'zealous aſſertors of the liberties of our 'country;' which exclude all pretenſions to an arbitrary, tyrannick, or deſpotick power. Thoſe, who have the misfortune to live under ſuch a power, have no other law but the will of their prince, and conſequently no privileges, but what are precarious. For though in ſome arbitrary governments there may be a body of laws obſerved in the ordinary forms of juſtice, they are not ſufficient to ſecure any rights to the people; becauſe they may be diſpenſed with, or laid aſide, at the pleaſure of the ſovereign.

And here it very much imports us to conſider, that arbitrary power naturally tends to make a man a bad Sovereign, who might poſſibly have been a good one, had he been inveſted with an authority limited and circumſcribed by laws. None can doubt of this tendency in arbitrary power, who conſider, that it fills the mind of man with great and unreaſonable conceits of himſelf; raiſes him into a belief, that he is of a ſuperior ſpecies to his ſubjects; extinguiſhes in him the principle of fear, which is one of the greateſt motives to all duties; and creates an ambition of magnifying himſelf, by the exertion of ſuch a power in all its inſtances. So great is the danger, that, when a Sovereign can do what he will, he will do what he can.

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One of the moſt arbitrary Princes in our age was *Muley Iſhmael*, Emperor of *Morocco*, who after a long reign died about a twelvemonth ago. This Prince was a man of much wit and natural ſenſe, of an active temper, undaunted courage, and great application. He was a deſcendent of *Mahomet*; and ſo exemplary for his adherence to the law of his prophet, that he abſtained all his life from the taſte of wine; began the annual feaſt, or *Lent*, of *Ramadan*, two months before his ſubjects; was frequent in his prayers; and that he might not want opportunities of kneeling, had fixed in all the ſpacious courts of his palace large conſecrated ſtones pointing towards the eaſt, for any occaſional exerciſe of his devotion. What might not have been hoped from a Prince of theſe endowments, had they not all been rendered uſeleſs and ineffectual to the good of his people by the notion of that power which they aſcribed to him! This will appear, if we conſider how he exerciſed it towards his ſubjects in thoſe three great points, which are the chief ends of government, the preſervation of their lives, the ſecurity of their fortunes, and the determination of juſtice between man and man.

Foreign envoys, who have given an account of their audiences, deſcribe this holy man mounted on horſeback in an open court, with ſeveral of his *Alcyades*, or governors of provinces, about him, ſtanding barefoot, trembling, bowing to the earth, and, at every word he ſpoke, breaking out into paſſionate exclamations of praiſe, as, 'great is the wiſdom of our 'Lord the King; our Lord the King ſpeaks as 'an Angel from Heaven.' Happy was the man among them, who was ſo much a favourite as to

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be ſent on an errand, to the moſt remote ſtreet in his capital; which he performed with the greateſt alacrity, ran through every puddle that lay in his way, and took care to return out of breath and covered with dirt, that he might ſhew himſelf a diligent and faithful miniſter. His Majeſty at the ſame time, to exhibit the greatneſs of his power, and ſhew his horſemanſhip, ſeldom diſmiſſed the foreigner from his preſence, until he had entertained him with the ſlaughter of two or three of his liege ſubjects, whom he very dexterouſly put to death with the tilt of his lance. St. *Olon*, the *French* envoy, tells us, that when he had his laſt audience of him, he received him in robes juſt ſtained with an execution; and that he was blooded up to his elbows by a couple of Moors, whom he had been butchering with his own imperial hands. By the calculation of that author, and many others, who have ſince given an account of his exploits, we may reckon that by his own arm he killed above forty thouſand of his people. To render himſelf the more awful, he choſe to wear a garb of a particular colour when he was bent upon execution; ſo that, when he appeared in Yellow, his great men hid themſelves in corners, and durſt not pay their court to him, till he had ſatiated his thirſt of blood by the death of ſome of his loyal commoners, or of ſuch unwary officers of ſtate as chanced to come in his way. Upon this account we are told, that the firſt news enquired after every morning at *Mequinez*, was, whether the Emperor were ſtirring, and in a good or bad humour? As this Prince was a great admirer of architecture, and employed many thouſands in works of

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that kind, if he did not aprove the plan or the performance, it was uſual for him to ſhew the delicacy of his taſte by demoliſhing the building, and putting to death all that had a hand in it. I have heard but of one inſtance of his mercy; which was ſhewn to the maſter of an *Engliſh* veſſel. This our countryman preſented him with a curious hatchet, which he received very graciouſly; and aſking him whether it had a good edge, tried it upon the donor, who, ſlipping aſide from the blow, eſcaped with the loſs only of his right ear; for old *Muley*, upon ſecond thoughts, conſidering that it was not one of his own ſubjects, ſtopped his hand, and would not ſend him to Paradiſe. I cannot quit this Article of his tenderneſs for the lives of his people, without mentioning one of his Queens whom he was remarkably fond of; as alſo a favourite Prime Miniſter, who was very dear to him. The firſt died by a kick of her Lord the King, when ſhe was big with child, for having gathered a flower as ſhe was walking with him in his pleaſure garden. The other was baſtinadoed to death by his Majeſty; who, repenting of the drubs he had given him when it was too late, to manifeſt his eſteem for the memory of ſo worthy a man, executed the ſurgeon that could not cure him.

This abſolute Monarch was as notable a guardian of the fortunes, as of the lives of his ſubjects. When any man among his people grew rich, in order to keep him from being dangerous to the ſtate, he uſed to ſend for all his goods and chattels. His Governors of towns and provinces, who formed themſelves upon the example of their Grand Monarque, practiſed rapine, violence, extortion, and all the arts of deſpotick

Government

Government in their reſpective diſtricts, that they might be the better enabled to make him their yearly preſents. For the greateſt of his Viceroys could only propoſe to himſelf a comfortable ſubſiſtence out of the plunder of his province, and was in certain danger of being recalled or hanged, if he did not remit the bulk of it to his dread Sovereign. That he might make a right uſe of theſe prodigious treaſures, which flowed in to him from all the parts of his wide empire, he took care to bury them under ground, by the hands of his moſt truſty ſlaves, and then cut their throats, as the moſt effectual method to keep them from making diſcoveries. Theſe were his ways and means for raiſing money, by which he weakened the hands of the factious, and in any caſe of emergency could employ the whole wealth of his empire, which he had thus amaſſed together in his ſubterraneous exchequer.

As there is no ſuch thing as property under an arbitrary Government, you may learn what was *Muley Iſhmael*'s notion of it from the following ſtory. Being upon the road, amidſt his life-guards, a little before the time of the Ram-Feaſt, he met one of his *Alcaydes* at the head of his ſervants, who were driving a great flock of ſheep to market. The Emperor aſked whoſe they were: The *Alcayde* anſwered with profound ſubmiſſion, 'They are mine, O *Iſhmael*, ſon of '*Elcherif*, of the line of *Haſſan*.' Thine! thou 'ſon of a cuckold,' ſaid this SERVANT OF THE LORD, 'I thought I had been the only propri-'tor in this country;' upon which he run him through the body with his lance, and very piouſly diſtributed the ſheep among his guards for the celebration of the feaſt.

His

His determinations of juſtice between man and man were indeed very ſummary and deciſive, and generally put an end to the vexations of a law-ſuit, by the ruin both of plaintiff and defendent. Travellers have recorded ſome ſamples of this kind, which may give us an idea of the bleſſings of his adminiſtration. One of his *Alcaydes* complaining to him of a wife, whom he had received from his Majeſty's hands, and therefore could not divorce her, that ſhe uſed to pull him by the beard: the Emperor, to redreſs this grievance, ordered his beard to be plucked up by the roots, that he might not be liable to any more ſuch affronts. A country farmer having accuſed ſome of his negro guards for robbing him of a drove of oxen, the Emperor readily ſhot the offenders: But afterwards demanding reparation of the accuſer, for the loſs of ſo many brave fellows, and finding him inſolvent, compounded the matter with him by taking away his life. There are many other inſtances of the ſame kind. I muſt obſerve however under this head, that the only good thing he is celebrated for, during his whole reign, was the clearing of the roads and highways of robbers, with which they uſed to be very much infeſted. But his method was to ſlay man, woman, and child, who lived within a certain diſtance from the place, where the robbery was committed. This extraordinary piece of juſtice could not but have its effects, by making every road in his empire unſafe for the profeſſion of a free-booter.

I muſt not omit this Emperor's reply to Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel*, who had taken ſeveral of his ſubjects by way of repriſal for the *Engliſh* captives that were detained in his dominions. Upon the admiral's offering to exchange them on very advan-

advatageous terms, this good Emperor ſent him word, the ſubjects he had taken were poor men, not worth the ranſoming; and that he might throw them over board, or deſtroy them otherwiſe, as he pleaſed.

Such was the Government of *Muley Iſhmael*, 'The ſervant of God, the Emperor of the faithful, who was courageous in the way of the Lord, the noble, the good.'

To conclude this account, which is extracted from the beſt authorities: I ſhall only obſerve that he was a great admirer of his late moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. In a letter to him, he compliments him with the title of 'Sovereign arbiter of the actions and wills of his people.' And in a book publiſhed by a *French* man, who was ſent to him as an Ambaſſador, is the following paſſage, 'He is abſolute in his ſtates, and often compares himſelf to the Emperor of *France*, who he ſays is the only perſon that knows how to reign like himſelf, and to make his will the law.'

This was that Emperor of *France*, to whom the perſon, who has a great mind to be King of theſe realms, owed his education, and from whom he learned his notions of Government. What ſhould hinder one, whoſe mind is ſo well ſeaſoned with ſuch prepoſſeſſions, from attempting to copy after his patron, in the exerciſe of ſuch a power; eſpecially conſidering that the party who eſpouſe his intereſt, never fail to compliment a Prince, that diſtributes all his places among them, with unlimited power on his part, and unconditional obedience on that of his ſubjects.

N° 11 Friday, January 27.

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.

Evil to him that evil thinks.

BY our lateſt advices, both from town and country, it appears, that the Ladies of *Great-Britain*, who are 'able to bear arms,' that is, to ſmile or frown to any purpoſe, have already begun to commit hoſtilities upon the men of each oppoſite party. To this end we are aſſured, that many of them on both ſides exerciſe before their glaſſes every morning; that they have already caſhiered ſeveral of their followers as mutineers, who have contradicted them in ſome political converſations; and that the Whig Ladies in particular deſign very ſoon to have a general review of their forces at a play beſpoken by one of their leaders. This ſet of Ladies, indeed, as they daily do duty at court, are much more expert in the uſe of their Airs and graces than their female antagoniſts, who are moſt of them bred in the country: So that the ſiſterhood of loyaliſts, in reſpect of the fair malecontents, are like an army of regular forces, compared with a raw undiſciplined militia.

It is to this misfortune in their education that we may aſcribe the rude and opprobrious language with which the diſaffected part of the Sex treat the preſent Royal Family. A little lively ruſtick, who hath been trained up in ignorance and

and prejudice, will prattle treaſon a whole winter's evening, and ſtring together a parcel of ſilly ſeditious ſtories, that are equally void of decency and truth. Nay, you ſometimes meet with a zealous matron, who ſets up for the pattern of a pariſh, uttering ſuch invectives as are highly miſbecoming her, both as a woman and a ſubject. In anſwer therefore to ſuch diſloyal termagants, I ſhall repeat to them a ſpeech of the honeſt and blunt Duke *da Sully* to an aſſembly of *Popiſh* Ladies, who were railing very bitterly againſt *Henry* the Fourth, at his acceſſion to the *French* throne; 'Ladies, ſaid he, you 'have a very good King, if you know when you 'are well. However ſet your hearts at reſt, for 'he is not a man to be ſcolded or ſcratched out 'of his kingdom.'

But as I never care to ſpeak of the Fair Sex, unleſs I have an occaſion to praiſe them, I ſhall take my leave of theſe ungentle damſels; and only beg of them, not to make themſelves leſs amiable than Nature deſigned them, by being rebels to the beſt of their abilities, and endeavouring to bring their country into bloodſhed and confuſion. Let me therefore recommend to them the example of thoſe beautiful aſſociates, whom I mentioned in my eighth Paper, as I have received the particulars of their behaviour from the perſon with whom I lodged their aſſociation.

This aſſociation being written at length in a large roll of the fineſt vellum, with three diſtinct columns for the maids, wives, and widows, was opened for the ſubſcribers near a fortnight ago. Never was a ſubſcription for a Raffling or an Opera more crowded. There is ſcarce a celebrated beauty about town that you may

may not find in one of the three lists; insomuch, that if a man, who did not know the design, should read only the names of the subscribers, he would fancy every column to be a catalogue of toasts. Mr. *Motteux* has been heard to say more than once, that if he had the portraits of all the associates, they would make a finer auction of pictures, than he or any body else had ever exhibited.

Several of these Ladies indeed criticised upon the form of the association. One of them, after the perusal of it, wondered that, among the features to be used in defence of their country, there was no mention made of Teeth; upon which she smiled very charmingly, and discovered as fine a set as ever eye beheld. Another, who was a tall lovely prude, holding up her head in a most majestick manner, said, with some disdain, she thought a good Neck might have done his Majesty as much service as smiles or dimples. A third looked upon the association as defective, because so necessary a word as Hands was omitted; and by her manner of taking up the pen, it was easy to guess the reason of her objection.

Most of the persons, who associated, have done much more than by the letter of the association they were obliged to; having not only set their names to it, but subscribed their several aids and subsidies for the carrying on so good a cause. In the virgin column is one who subscribes fifteen lovers, all of them good men and true. There is another who subscribes five admirers, with one tall handsom black man fit to be a colonel. In short, there is scarce one in this list who does not engage herself to supply a quota of brisk young fellows, many of them already

equipt

equipt with hats and feathers. Among the reſt, was a pretty ſprightly coquette, with ſparkling eyes, who ſubſcribed two quivers of arrows.

In the column of wives, the firſt who took pen in hand writ her own name and one vaſſal, meaning her huſband. Another ſubſcribes her huſband and three ſons. Another her huſband and ſix coach-horſes. Moſt in this catalogue paired themſelves with their reſpective mates, anſwering for them as men of honeſt principles, and fit for the ſervice.

N. B. There were two in this column that wore aſſociation ribbons: The firſt of them ſubſcribed her huſband, and her huſband's friend; the ſecond a huſband and five lovers; but upon enquiring into their characters, they are both of them found to be Tories, who hung out falſe colours to be ſpies upon the Aſſociation, or to inſinuate to the world by their ſubſcriptions, as if a Lady of Whig principles could love any man beſides her huſband.

The widows column is headed by a fine woman who calls herſelf *Boadicea*, and ſubſcribes ſix hundred tenants. It was indeed obſerved that the ſtrength of the Aſſociation lay moſt in this column; every widow, in proportion to her jointure, having a great number of admirers, and moſt of them diſtinguiſhed as able men. Thoſe, who have examined this liſt, compute that there may be three regiments raiſed out of it, in which there ſhall not be one man under ſix foot high.

I muſt not conclude this account, without taking notice of the ASSOCIATION-RIBBON, by which theſe beautiful confederates have agreed to diſtinguiſh themſelves. It is indeed ſo pretty an ornament, that I wonder any *Engliſh* woman

woman will be without it. 'A Lady of the ASSOCIATION, who bears this badge of allegiance upon her breaſt, naturally produces a deſire in every male-beholder of gaining a place in a heart which carries on it ſuch a viſible mark of its fidelity. When the beauties of our iſland are thus induſtrious to ſhew theſe principles, as well as their charms, they raiſe the ſentiments of their countrymen, and inſpire them at the ſame time both with loyalty and love. What numbers of proſelytes may we not expect, when the moſt amiable of the *Britons* thus exhibit to their admirers the only terms upon which they are to hope for any correſpondence or alliance with them! It is well known that the greateſt blow the *French* nation ever received, was the droping of a fine Lady's garter, in the reign of King *Edward* the third. The moſt remarkable battles, which have been ſince gained over that nation, were fought under the auſpices of a blue RIBBON. As our *Britiſh* Ladies have ſtill the ſame faces, and our men the ſame hearts, why may we not hope for the ſame glorious achievements from the influence of this beautiful breaſt-knot?

Monday,

N° 12 Monday, January 30.

Quapropter, de ſummâ ſalute veſtrâ, P. C. de veſtris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de fanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac ſedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de ſalute Patriæ, deque univerſâ republicâ decernite diligenter, ut inſtituiſtis, ac fortiter. Cic.

Wherefore, fathers conſcript, go on, as you have begun, with diligence and reſolution, to provide for the publick ſafety, and that of your wives and children: for your temples and altars, the city and its buildings, the Empire, the liberty and welfare of your country, and for the good of the whole commonwealth.

THIS day having been ſet apart by publick authority to raiſe in us an abhorrence of the GREAT REBELLION, which involved the nation in ſo many calamities and ended in the murder of their Sovereign, it may not be unſeaſonable to ſhew the guilt of Rebellion in general, and of that Rebellion in particular which is ſtirred up againſt his preſent Majeſty.

That Rebellion is one of the moſt hainous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit, may appear from ſeveral conſiderations. Firſt, as it deſtroys the end of all government, and the benefits of civil ſociety. Government was inſtituted for maintaining the peace, ſafety, and happineſs of a people. Theſe great ends are brought about by a general conformity and ſub-

ſubmiſſion to that frame of laws which is eſtabliſhed in every community, for the protection of the innocent, and the puniſhment of the guilty. As on the one ſide men are ſecured in the quiet poſſeſſion of their lives, properties, and every thing they have a right to: So on the other ſide, thoſe, who offer them any injury in theſe particulars, are ſubject to penalties proportioned to their reſpective offences. Government therefore mitigates the inequality of power among particular perſons, and makes an innocent man, though of the loweſt rank, a match for the mightieſt of his fellow-ſubjects; ſince he has the force of the whole community on his ſide, which is able to control the inſolence or injuſtice of any private oppreſſor. Now Rebellion diſappoints all theſe ends and benefits of government, by raiſing a power in oppoſition to that authority, which has been eſtabliſhed among a people for their mutual welfare and defence. So that rebellion is as great an evil to ſociety as government itſelf is a bleſſing.

In the next place, rebellion is a violation of all thoſe engagements, which every governments exacts from ſuch perſons as live under it; and conſequently, the moſt baſe and pernicious inſtance of treachery and perfidiouſneſs. The guilt of Rebellion increaſes in proportion as theſe engagements are more ſolemn and obligatory. Thus, if a man makes his way to rebellion through perjury, he gives additional horrors to that crime, which is in itſelf of the blackeſt nature.

We may likewiſe conſider Rebellion as a greater complication of wickedneſs than any other crime we can commit. It is big with rapine, ſacrilege, and murder. It is dreadful in its mildeſt effects, as it impoveriſhes the publick; ruins particular families;

families; begets and perpetuates hatreds among fellow ſubjects, friends and relations; makes a country the ſeat of war and deſolation, and expoſes it to the attempts of its foreign enemies. In ſhort, as it is impoſſible for it to take effect, or to make the ſmalleſt progreſs, but through a continued courſe of violence and bloodſhed; a robber or a murderer looks like an innocent man, when we compare him with a Rebel.

I ſhall only add; that as in the ſubordinations of a government the King is offended by any inſults or oppoſitions to an inferior magiſtrate, ſo the ſovereign Ruler of the univerſe is affronted by a breach of allegiance to thoſe whom he has ſet over us; providence having delegated to the ſupreme magiſtrate in every country the ſame power for the good of men, which that ſupreme magiſtrate transfers to thoſe ſeveral officers and ſubſtitutes who act under him, for the preſerving of order and juſtice.

Now if we take a view of the preſent Rebellion which is formed againſt his Majeſty, we ſhall find in it all the guilt that is naturally inherent in this crime, without any ſingle circumſtance to alleviate it. Inſurrections among a people to reſcue themſelves from the moſt violent and illegal oppreſſions; to throw off a tyranny that makes property precarious, and life painful; to preſerve their laws and their religion to themſelves and their poſterity; are excuſed from the neceſſity of ſuch an undertaking, when no other means are left for the ſecurity of every thing that is dear and valuable to reaſonable creatures. By the frame of our conſtitution, the duties of protection and allegiance are reciprocal; and as the ſafety of a community is the ultimate end and deſign of

govern-

government, when this, inſtead of being preſerved, is manifeſtly deſtroyed, civil ſocieties are excuſable before God and man, if they endeavour to recover themſelves out of ſo miſerable a condition. For, in ſuch a caſe, government becomes an evil inſtead of a bleſſing, and is not at all preferable to a ſtate of anarchy and mutual independence. For theſe reaſons, we have ſcarce ever yet heard of an inſurrection that was not either coloured with grievances of the higheſt kind, or countenanced by one or more branches of the legiſlature. But the preſent Rebellion is formed againſt a King, whoſe right has been eſtabliſhed by frequent Parliaments of all parties, and recognized by the moſt ſolemn oaths; who has not been charged with one illegal proceeding; who acts in perfect concert with the Lords and Commons of the realm; who is famed for his equity and goodneſs, and has already very much advanced the reputation and intereſt of our country. The guilt therefore of this Rebellion has in it all the moſt aggravating circumſtances; which will ſtill appear more plainly, if we conſider in the firſt place the real motives to it.

The Rebellion which was one of the moſt flagitious in itſelf, and deſcribed with the moſt horror by hiſtorians, is that of *Catiline*, and his aſſociates. Their motives to it are diſplayed at large by the *Roman* writers, in order to inſpire the reader with the utmoſt deteſtation of it. *Catiline*, the chief of the Rebellion, had been diſappointed in his competition for one of the firſt offices in the government, and had involved himſelf in ſuch private debts and difficulties, as nothing could extricate him out of, but the ruin of an adminiſtration that would not intruſt him with poſts of honour or profit. His

principal accomplices were men of the ſame character, and animated by the ſame incentives. They complained that power was lodged in the hands of the worſt, to the oppreſſion of the beſt; and that places were conferred on unworthy men, to the excluſion of themſelves and their friends. Many of them were afraid of publick juſtice for paſt crimes, and ſome of them ſtood actually condemned as traitors to their country. Theſe were joined by men of deſperate fortunes, who hoped to find their account in the confuſions of their country, were applauded by the meaneſt of the rabble, who always delighted in change, and privately abetted by perſons of a conſiderable figure, who aimed at thoſe honours and preferments which were in the poſſeſſion of their rivals. Theſe are the motives with which *Catiline*'s Rebellion is branded in hiſtory, and which are expreſly mentioned by *Saluſt*. I ſhall leave it to every unprejudiced reader to compare them with the motives which have kindled the preſent Rebellion in his Majeſty's Dominions.

As this Rebellion is of the moſt criminal nature from its motives, ſo it is likewiſe, if we conſider its conſequences. Should it ſucceed, (a ſuppoſition which, God be thanked, is very extravagant) what muſt be the natural effects of it upon our Religion! what could we expect from an army, bleſt by the Pope, headed by a zealous Roman-catholick, encouraged by the moſt bigotted Princes of the church of *Rome*, ſupported by contributions not only from theſe ſeveral potentates, but from the wealthieſt of their convents, and officered by *Iriſh* papiſts and outlaws! can we imagine that the Roman-catholicks of our own nation would ſo heartily embark in an enterpriſe,

terpriſe, to the viſible hazard of their lives and fortunes, did they only hope to enjoy their religion under thoſe laws which are now in force? In ſhort, the danger to the Proteſtant cauſe is ſo manifeſt, that it would be an affront to the underſtanding of the reader to endeavour farther to prove it.

Arbitrary power is ſo interwoven with popery, and ſo neceſſary to introduce it, ſo agreeable to the education of the Pretender, ſo conformable to the principles of his adherents, and ſo natural to the inſolence of conquerors, that, ſhould our invader gain the Sovereign power by violence, there is no doubt but he would preſerve it by tyranny. I ſhall leave to the reader's own conſideration the change of property in general, and the utter extinction of it in our national funds, the inundation of Nobles without eſtates, Prelates without biſhopricks, officers civil and military without places; and in ſhort, the ſeveral occaſions of rapine and revenge, which would neceſſarily enſue upon ſuch a fatal revolution. But by the bleſſing of Providence, and the wiſdom of his Majeſty's adminiſtration, this melancholy proſpect is as diſtant as it is dreadful.

Theſe are the conſequences which would neceſſarily attend the ſucceſs of the preſent Rebellion. But we will now ſuppoſe that the event of it ſhould for ſome time remain doubtful. In this caſe we are to expect all the miſeries of a civil war: Nay, the armies of the greateſt foreign Princes would be ſubſiſted, and all the battles of *Europe* fought in *England*. The Rebels have already ſhewn us, that they want no inclination to promote their cauſe by fire and ſword, where they have an opportunity of practiſing their barbarities. Should ſuch a fierce and

rapacious hoſt of men, as that which is now in the highlands, fall down into our country that is ſo well peopled, adorned and cultivated, how would their march be diſtinguiſhed by ravage and devaſtation! might not we ſay of them in the ſublime and beautiful words of the Prophet, deſcribing the progreſs of an enraged army from the north; 'Before them is as the garden of '*Eden*, and behind them as the deſolate wilder-'neſs; yea, and nothing ſhall eſcape them.'

What then can we think of a party, who would plunge their native country into ſuch evils as theſe; when the only avowed motive for their proceedings is a point of theory, that has been already determined by thoſe who are proper judges, and in whoſe determinations we have ſo many years acquieſced? If the calamities of the nation in general, can make no impreſſion on them, let them at leaſt, in pity to themſelves, their friends and dependents, forbear all open and ſecret methods of encouraging a rebellion, ſo deſtructive, and ſo unprovoked. All human probabilities are againſt them; and they cannot expect ſucceſs, but from a miraculous interpoſition of the Almighty. And this we may with all chriſtian humility hope, will not turn againſt us, who obſerve thoſe oaths which we have made in his preſence; who are zealous for the ſafety of that religion, which we think moſt acceptable in his ſight; and who endeavour to preſerve that conſtitution which is moſt conducive to the happineſs of our country.

N° 13 Friday, February 3.

Ignavum fucos pecus à præſepibus arcent.
Virg. Georg. 4. ver. 168.

They drive
The lazy drones from the laborious hive.
DRYDEN.

THE moſt common, and indeed the moſt natural diviſion of all offences, is into thoſe of Omiſſion, and thoſe of Commiſſion. We may make the ſame diviſion of that particular ſet of crimes which regard human ſociety. The greateſt crime which can be committed againſt it is Rebellion, as was ſhewn in my laſt Paper. The greateſt crime of Omiſſion is an indifference in the particular members of a ſociety, when a Rebellion is actually begun among them. In ſuch a juncture, though a man may be innocent of the great breach which is made upon Government, he is highly culpable, if he does not uſe all the means that are ſuitable to his ſtation for reducing the community into its former ſtate of peace and good order.

Our obligation to be active on ſuch an occaſion appears from the very nature of civil government; which is an inſtitution, whereby we are all confederated together for our mutual defence and ſecurity. Men, who profeſs a ſtate of neutrality in times of publick danger, deſert the common intereſt of their fellow-ſubjects, and act with independence to that conſtitution

into which they are incorporated. The ſafety of the whole requires our joint endeavours. When this is at ſtake, the indifferent are not properly a part of the community; or rather are like dead limbs, which are an incumbrance to the body, inſtead of being of uſe to it. Beſides that the protection, which all receive from the ſame Government, juſtly calls upon the gratitude of all to ſtrengthen it, as well as upon their ſelf-intereſt to preſerve it.

But farther; if men, who in their hearts are friends to a Government, forbear giving it their utmoſt aſſiſtance againſt its enemies, they put it in the power of a few deſperate men to ruin the welfare of thoſe who are much ſuperior to them in ſtrength, number, and intereſt. It was a remarkable law of *Solon*, the great legiſlator of the *Athenians*, that any perſon, who in the civil tumults and commotions of the republick remained neuter, or an indifferent ſpectator of the contending parties, ſhould, after the re-eſtabliſhment of the publick peace, forfeit all his poſſeſſions, and be condemn'd to perpetual baniſhment. This law made it neceſſary for every citizen to take his party, becauſe it was highly probable the majority would be ſo wiſe as to eſpouſe that cauſe which was moſt agreeable to the publick weal, and by that means hinder a ſedition from making a ſucceſsful progreſs. At leaſt, as every prudent and honeſt man, who might otherwiſe favour any indolence in his own temper, was hereby engaged to be active, ſuch a one would be ſure to join himſelf to that ſide which had the good of their country moſt at heart. For this reaſon their famous lawgiver condemned the perſons who ſat idle in diviſions ſo dangerous to the Government, as aliens to the

the community, and therefore to be cut off from it as unprofitable members.

Farther; indifference cannot but be criminal, when it is converſant about objects which are ſo far from being of an indifferent nature, that they are of the higheſt importance to ourſelves and our country. If it be indifferent to us whether we are free ſubjects or ſlaves; whether our Prince be of our own Religion, or of one that obliges him to extirpate it; we are in the right to give ourſelves no trouble in the preſent juncture. A man governs himſelf by the dictates of virtue and good ſenſe, who acts without zeal or paſſion in Points that are of no conſequence. But when the whole community is ſhaken, and the ſafety of the publick endanger'd, the appearance of a philoſophical or an affected indolence muſt ariſe either from ſtupidity or perfidiouſneſs.

When, in the diviſion of parties among us, men only ſtrove for the firſt place in the Prince's favour; when all were attached to the ſame form of Government, and contended only for the higheſt offices in it; a prudent and an honeſt man might look upon the ſtruggle with indifference, and be in no great pain for the ſucceſs of either ſide. But at preſent the conteſt is not in reality between Whigs and Tories, but between Loyaliſts and Rebels. Our country is not now divided into parties, who propoſe the ſame end by different means; but into ſuch as would preſerve, and ſuch as would deſtroy it. Whatever denominations we might range ourſelves under in former times, men who have any natural love to their country, or ſenſe of their duty, ſhould exert their united ſtrength in a cauſe that is common to all Parties, as they are Proteſtants and *Britons*. In ſuch a caſe, an avowed indiffe-

rence is treachery to our fellow-ſubjects; and a lukewarm allegiance may prove as pernicious in its conſequences as treaſon.

I need not repeat here what I have proved at large in a former Paper, that we are obliged to an active obedience by the ſolemn oaths we have taken to his Majeſty; and that the neutral kind of indifference, which is the ſubject of this Paper, falls ſhort of that obligation they lie under, who have taken ſuch oaths; as will eaſily appear to any one who conſiders the form of thoſe ſacred and religious engagements.

How then can any man anſwer it to himſelf, if, for the ſake of managing his intereſt or character among a party, or out of any perſonal pique to thoſe who are the moſt conſpicuous for their zeal in his Majeſty's ſervice, or from any other private and ſelf-intereſted motive, he ſtands as a looker-on when the Government is attacked by an open rebellion; eſpecially when thoſe engaged in it cannot have the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, but by the aſſiſtance of the ancient and hereditary enemies to the *Britiſh* nation? It is ſtrange that theſe lukewarm friends to the Government, whoſe zeal for their Sovereign riſes and falls with their credit at court, do not conſider, before it be too late, that as they ſtrengthen the Rebels by their preſent indifference, they at the ſame time eſtabliſh the intereſt of thoſe who are their rivals and competitors for publick poſts of honour. When there is an end put to this rebellion, theſe Gentlemen cannot pretend to have had any merit in ſo good a work: And they may well believe the nation will never care to ſee thoſe men in the higheſt offices of truſt, who, when they are out of them, will not ſtir a finger in its defence.

Monday

N° 14 Monday, February 6.

Periculoſum eſt credere, & non credere:
Utriuſque exemplum breviter exponam rei.
Hippolitus obiit, quia novercæ creditum eſt:
Caſſandræ quia non creditum, ruit Ilium.
Ergo exploranda eſt veritas multùm priùs,
Quàm ſtulta pravè judicet ſententia.

Phædr. Fab. 10. l. 3.

To believe is dangerous; and not to believe, is dangerous: I will give an inſtance of both: *Hippolitus* loſt his life by giving credit to his ſtepmother; and if *Caſſandra* had been believed, *Troy* had not periſhed: Therefore ſearch diligently for the truth, leſt your judgment be miſled to pronounce fooliſhly.

HAving in the ſeventh Paper conſidered many of thoſe falſhoods by which the cauſe of our male contents is ſupported: I ſhall here ſpeak of that extravagant credulity, which diſpoſes each particular member of their party to believe them. This ſtrange alacrity in believing abſurdity and inconſiſtence may be called the Political Faith of a Tory.

A perſon who is thoroughly endowed with this political faith, like a man in a dream, is entertained from one end of his life to the other with objects that have no reality or exiſtence. He is daily nouriſhed and kept in humour by fiction and deluſion; and may be compared to the old obſtinate Knight in *Rabelais*, that every morning ſwallowed a chimera for his breakfaſt.

This Political Faith of a malecontent is altogether founded on hope. He does not give credit to any thing becauſe it is probable, but becauſe it is pleaſing. His wiſhes ſerve him inſtead of reaſons, to confirm the truth of what he hears. There is no report ſo incredible or contradictory in itſelf which he doth not chearfully believe, if it tends to the advancement of the cauſe. In ſhort, a malecontent who is a good believer has generally reaſon to repeat the celebrated rant of an ancient father, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt:* Which is as much as to ſay, 'It muſt be true, becauſe it is impoſſible.'

It has been very well obſerved, that the moſt credulous man in the world is the Atheiſt, who believes the univerſe to be the production of chance. In the ſame manner a Tory, who is the greateſt believer in what is improbable, is the greateſt infidel in what is certain. Let a friend to the Government relate to him a matter of fact, he turns away his ear from him, and gives him the lye in every look. But if one of his own ſtamp ſhould tell him that the King of *Sweden* would be ſuddenly at *Perth*, and that his army is now actually marching thither upon the ice; he hugs himſelf at the good news, and gets drunk upon it before he goes to bed. This ſort of people puts one in mind of ſeveral towns of *Europe* that are inacceſſible on the one ſide, while they lie open and unguarded on the other. The minds of our malecontents are indeed ſo depraved with thoſe falſhoods which they are perpetually imbibing, that they have a natural reliſh for error, and have quite loſt the taſte of truth in political matters. I ſhall therefore diſmiſs this head with a ſaying of King *Charles* the Second. This Monarch, when he was at *Windſor*, uſed to amuſe himſelf with the converſation of the famous *Voſſius*, who was full

full of ſtories relating to the antiquity, learning, and manners of the *Chineſe*; and at the ſame time a Free-thinker in points of Religion. The King upon hearing him repeat ſome incredible accounts of theſe eaſtern people, turning to thoſe who were about him, 'This learned divine,' ſaid he, 'is a very ſtrange man: He believes every thing but the bible.'

Having thus far conſidered the political faith of the party as it regards matters of fact, let us in the next place take a view of it with reſpect to thoſe doctrines which it embraces, and which are the fundamental points whereby they are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe, whom they uſed to repreſent as enemies to the conſtitution in Church and State. How far their great articles of political faith, with reſpect to our eccleſiaſtical and civil government, are conſiſtent with themſelves and agreeable to reaſon and truth, may be ſeen in the following paradoxes, which are the eſſentials of a Tory's creed, with relation to political matters. Under the Name of Tories, I do not here comprehend multitudes of well-deſigning men, who were formerly included under that denomination, but are now in the intereſt of his Majeſty and the preſent government. Theſe have already ſeen the evil tendency of ſuch principles, which are the Credenda of the party, as it is oppoſite to that of the Whigs.

Article I.

That the church of *England* will be always in danger, till it has a Popiſh King for its Defender.

II.

That for the ſafety of the church, no ſubject ſhould be tolerated in any religion different from the eſtabliſhed; but that the Head of our church

church may be of that religion which is moſt repugnant to it.

III.

That the Proteſtant intereſt in this nation, and in all *Europe*, could not but flouriſh under the protection of one, who thinks himſelf obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in his power for the extirpation of it.

IV.

That we may ſafely rely upon the promiſes of one, whoſe religion allows him to make them, and at the ſame time obliges him to break them.

V.

That a good man ſhould have a greater abhorrence of preſbyterianiſm, which is perverſeneſs, than of popery, which is but idolatry.

VI.

That a perſon, who hopes to be King of *England* by the aſſiſtance of *France*, would naturally adhere to the *Britiſh* intereſt, which is always oppoſite to that of the *French*.

VII.

That a man has no opportunities of learning how to govern the people of *England* in any foreign country, ſo well as in *France*.

VIII.

That ten millions of people ſhould rather chooſe to fall into ſlavery, than not acknowledge their Prince to be inveſted with an hereditary and indefeaſible right of oppreſſion.

IX.

That we are obliged in conſcience to become ſubjects of a Duke of *Savoy*, or of a *French* King, rather than enjoy for our Sovereign a Prince, who is the firſt of the royal blood in the proteſtant line.

X. That

X.

That Non-reſiſtance is the duty of every chriſtian, while he is in a good place.

XI.

That we ought to profeſs the doctrine of paſſive obedience till ſuch a time as nature rebels againſt principle, that is, till we are put to the neceſſity of practiſing it.

XII.

That the Papiſts have taken up arms to defend the church of *England* with the utmoſt hazard of their lives and fortunes.

XIII.

That there is an unwarrantable faction in this iſland, conſiſting of King, Lords, and Commons.

XIV.

That the Legiſlature, when there is a majority of Whigs in it, has not power to make laws.

XV.

That an act of parliament to impower the King to ſecure ſuſpected perſons in times of rebellion, is the means to eſtabliſh the Sovereign on the throne, and conſequently a great infringement of the liberties of the ſubject.

N°15 Friday, February 10.

———*Auxilium, quoniam ſic cogitis ipſi,*
Dixit, ab hoſte petam: Vultus avertite veſtros,
Si quis amicus adeſt: Et Gorgonis extulit ora.
Ovid. Met. l. 5. ver. 178.

Since thus unequally you fight; 'tis time,
He cry'd, to puniſh your preſumptuous crime,
Beware, my friends; his friends were ſoon prepar'd,
Their ſight averting; high the head he rear'd,
And *Gorgon* on his foes ſeverely ſtar'd.
MANWARING.

IT is with great pleaſure that I ſee a race of Female-patriots ſpringing up in this iſland. The faireſt among the daughters of *Great-Britain* no longer confine their cares to a domeſtick life, but are grown anxious for the welfare of their country, and ſhew themſelves good ſtateſwomen as well as good houſewives.

Our ſhe-confederates keep pace with us in quaſhing that rebellion which had begun to ſpread itſelf among part of the Fair-Sex. If the men who are true to their King and country have taken *Preſton* and *Perth*, the Ladies have poſſeſſed themſelves of the opera and the play-houſe with as little oppoſition or bloodſhed. The non-reſiſting women, like their brothers in the *Highlands*, think no poſt tenable againſt an army that makes ſo fine an appearance; and dare not look them in the face, when they are drawn up in battle-aray.

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As an Inſtance of the chearfulneſs in our fair fellow-ſubjects, to oppoſe the deſigns of the Pretender, I did but ſuggeſt in one of my former Papers, 'That the Fan might be made uſe of 'with good ſucceſs againſt popery, by exhibiting 'the corruptions of the church of *Rome* in va-'rious figures;' when immediately they took the hint, and have ſince had frequent conſultations upon ſeveral ways and methods 'to make the fan 'uſeful.' They have unanimouſly agreed upon the following reſolutions, which are indeed very ſuitable to Ladies who are at the ſame time the moſt beautiful and the moſt loyal of their Sex. To hide their faces behind the fan, when they obſerve a Tory gazing upon them. Never to peep through it, but in order to pick out men, whoſe principles make them worth the conqueſt. To return no other anſwer to a Tory's addreſſes, than by counting the Sticks of it all the while he is talking to them. To avoid dropping it in the neighbourhood of a malecontent, that he may not have an opportunity of taking it up. To ſhew their diſbelief of any Jacobite ſtory by a flirt of it. To fall a fanning themſelves, when a Tory comes into one of their Aſſemblies, as being diſordered at the ſight of him.

Theſe are the uſes by which every fan may in the hands of a fine woman become ſerviceable to the publick. But they have at preſent under conſideration certain fans of a Proteſtant make, that they may have a more extenſive influence and raiſe an Abhorrence of Popery in a whole crowd of beholders: For they intend to let the world ſee what party they are of, by figures and deſigns upon theſe fans; as the Knights-Errant uſed to diſtinguiſh themſelves by devices on their Shields.

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There are ſeveral ſketches of pictures which have been already preſented to the Ladies for their approbation, and out of which ſeveral have made their choice. A pretty young Lady will very ſoon appear with a fan, which has on it a nunnery of lively black-eyed veſtals, who are endeavouring to creep out at the grates. Another has a fan mounted with a fine paper, on which is repreſented a groupe of people upon their knees very devoutly worſhipping an old ten-penny nail. A certain Lady of great learning has choſen for her device the council of *Trent*; and another, who has a good ſatirical turn, has filled her fan with the figure of a huge taudry woman, repreſenting the whore of *Babylon*; which ſhe is reſolved to ſpread full in the face of any ſiſter-diſputant, whoſe arguments have a tendency to popery. The following deſigns are already executed on ſeveral mountings. The ceremony of the holy pontiff opening the mouth of a cardinal in a full conſiſtory. An old gentleman with a triple crown upon his head, and big with child, being the portrait of Pope *Joan*. Biſhop *Bonner* purchaſing great quantities of faggots and bruſh-wood for the converſion of hereticks. A figure reaching at a ſcepter with one hand, and holding a chaplet of beads in the other: With a diſtant view of *Smithfield*.

When our Ladies make their Zeal thus viſible upon their fans, and, every time they open them, diſplay an error of the church of *Rome*, it cannot but have a good effect, by ſhewing the enemies of our preſent eſtabliſhment the folly of what they are contending for. At leaſt, every one muſt allow that fans are much more innocent engines for propagating the proteſtant religion, than racks, wheels, gibbets, and the like machines,

which

which are made uſe of for the advancement of the Roman Catholick. Beſides, as every Lady will of courſe ſtudy her fan, ſhe will be a perfect miſtreſs of the controverſy at leaſt in one point of popery, and as her curioſity will put her upon the peruſal of every other fan that is faſhionable, I doubt not but in a very little time there will ſcarce be a woman of Quality in *Great-Britain*, who would not be an over-match for an *Iriſh* prieſt.

The beautiful part of this iſland, whom I am proud to number amongſt the moſt candid of my readers, will likewiſe do well to reflect, that our diſpute at preſent concerns our civil as well as religious rights. I ſhall therefore only offer it to their thoughts, as a point that highly deſerves their conſideration, whether the fan may not alſo be made uſe of with regard to our political conſtitution. As a Free-Holder, I would not have them confine their cares for us as we are Proteſtants, but at the ſame time have an eye to our happineſs as we are *Britons*. In this caſe they would give a new turn to the minds of their countrymen, if they would exhibit on their fans the ſeveral grievances of a tyrannical government. Why might not an audience of *Muley Iſhmael*, or a *Turk* dropping his handkerchief in his ſeraglio, be proper ſubjects to expreſs their abhorrence both of deſpotic power, and of male tyranny? Or if they have a fancy for burleſque, what would they think of a *French* cobbler cutting ſhoes for ſeveral of his fellow-ſubjects out of an old apple-tree? On the contrary, a fine woman, who would maintain the dignity of her ſex, might bear a ſtring of galley-ſlaves, dragging their chains the whole breadth of her fan, and at the ſame time to celebrate her

own triumphs, might order every ſlave to be drawn with the face of one of her admirers.

I only propoſe theſe as hints to my gentle readers, which they may alter or improve as they ſhall think fit: But cannot conclude without congratulating our country upon this diſpoſition among the moſt amiable of its inhabitants, to conſider in their ornaments the Advantage of the publick as well as of their Perſons. It was with the ſame ſpirit, though not with the ſame politeneſs, that the ancient *Britiſh* women had the figures of monſters painted on their naked bodies, in order, as our hiſtorians tell us, to make themſelves beautiful in the eyes of their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. If this project goes on, we may boaſt, that our ſiſter Whigs have the fineſt fans, as well as the moſt beautiful faces, of any Ladies in the world. At leaſt, we may venture to foretel, that the figures in their fans will leſſen the *Tory* intereſt, much more than thoſe in the *Oxford* almanacks will advance it.

Monday,

N° 16 Monday, February 13.

Itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more romano magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiæque imperium atque judicium summum habere. Aliter, sine populi jussu nulli earum rerum consuli jus est.

Salust. Bell. Catil. 29.

The senate therefore made a decree as usual, when they have matters before them of so horrid a nature, that the Consuls should take care the commonwealth did not suffer any prejudice. By virtue of this very great power which the senate allows to the magistrate, according to the ancient customs of *Rome*, he may raise an army, wage war, make use of all kinds of methods to restrain the associates and citizens of *Rome*, and exercise the supreme authority both at home and abroad in matters civil and military; whereas otherwise the Consul is not invested with any of these powers without the express command of the people.

IT being the design of these Papers to reconcile men to their own happiness by removing those wrong notions and prejudices which hinder them from seeing the advantage of themselves and their posterity in the present Establishment, I cannot but take notice of every thing that by the

the artifice of our enemies is made a matter of complaint.

Of this nature is the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act, by which his Majeſty has been enabled, in theſe times of danger, to ſeize and detain the perſons of ſuch, who he had reaſon to believe were conſpiring againſt his perſon and government. The expediency and reaſonableneſs of ſuch a temporary ſuſpenſion in the preſent juncture, may appear to every conſiderate man, who will turn his thoughts impartially on this ſubject.

I have choſen in points of this nature to draw my arguments from the firſt principles of Government, which as they are of no party, but aſſented to by every reaſonable man, carry the greater weight with them, and are accommodated to the notions of all my readers. Every one knows, who has conſidered the nature of Government, that there muſt be in each particular form of it an abſolute and unlimited power; and that this power is lodged in the hands of thoſe, who have the making of its laws, whether by the nature of the conſtitution it be in one or more perſons, in a ſingle order of men, or in a mixt body of different ranks and degrees. It is an abſurdity to imagine that thoſe, who have the authority of making laws, cannot ſuſpend any particular law, when they think it expedient for the publick. Without ſuch a power all government would be defective, and not armed with a ſufficient force for its own ſecurity. As ſelf-preſervation by all honeſt methods is the firſt duty of every community, as well as of every private perſon, ſo the publick ſafety is the general view of all laws. When therefore

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any law does not conduce to this great end, but on the contrary, in ſome extraordinary and unnatural junctures, the very obſervation of it would endanger the community, that law ought to be laid aſleep for ſuch a time, by the proper authority. Thus the very intention of our Habeas Corpus act, namely, the preſervation of the liberties of the ſubject, abſolutely requires that act to be now ſuſpended, ſince the confinement of dangerous and ſuſpected perſons, who might ſtrengthen this rebellion, and ſpread a civil war through all parts of this Kingdom, ſecures to us our civil rights, and every thing that can be valuable to a free people.

As every Government muſt in its nature be armed with ſuch an authority, we may obſerve that thoſe Governments which have been the moſt famous for publick ſpirit, and the moſt jealous of their liberty, have never failed to exert it upon proper occaſions. There cannot be a greater inſtance of this, than in the old commonwealth of *Rome*, who flattered themſelves with an opinion, that their Government had in it a due temper of the regal, noble, and popular power, repreſented by the Conſuls the Senators, and the Tribunes. The regal part was however in ſeveral points notoriouſly defective, and particularly becauſe the Conſuls had not a negative in the paſſing of a law, as the other two branches had. Nevertheleſs in this Government when the republick was threatned with any great and imminent danger, they thought it for the common ſafety to appoint a temporary Dictator, inveſted with the whole power of the three branches; who, when the danger was over, retired again into the

the community, and left the Government in its natural ſituation. But what is more to our caſe, the conſular power itſelf, though infinitely ſhort of the regal power in *Great-Britain*, was intruſted with the whole authority which the legiſlature has put into the Hands of his Majeſty. We have an eminent inſtance of this in the motto of my Paper, which I ſhall tranſlate for the benefit of the *Engliſh* Reader, after having advertiſed him, that the power, there given to the Conſul, was in the time of a conſpiracy.

'The ſenate therefore made a decree as uſual, 'when they have matters before them of ſo 'horrid a nature, that the Conſuls ſhould take 'care the commonwealth did not ſuffer any 'prejudice. By virtue of this very great power 'which the ſenate allows to the magiſtrate, 'according to the ancient cuſtoms of *Rome*, he 'may raiſe an army, wage war, make uſe of all 'kinds of methods to reſtrain the aſſociates and 'citizens of *Rome*, and exerciſe the ſupreme 'authority both at home and abroad in matters 'civil and military; whereas otherwiſe the Con-'ſul is not inveſted with any of theſe powers 'without the expreſs command of the people.

There now only remains to ſhew, that his Majeſty is legally poſſeſt of this power; and that the neceſſity of the preſent affairs requires he ſhould be ſo. He is intruſted with it by the legiſlature of the nation; and in the very notion of a legiſlature is implied a power to change, repeal, and ſuſpend what laws are in being, as well as to make what new laws they ſhall think fit for the good of the people. This is ſo uncontroverted a maxim, that I believe never any body attempted to refute it. Our legiſlature have however had that

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juſt regard for their fellow-ſubjects, as not to entertain a thought of abrogating this law, but only to hinder it from operating at a time when it would endanger the conſtitution. The King is impowered to act but for a few months by virtue of this ſuſpenſion; and by that means differs from a King of *France*, or any other tyrannical Prince, who in times of peace and tranquillity, and upon what occaſion he pleaſes, ſends any of his ſubjects out of the knowledge of their friends into ſuch caſtles, dungeons, or impriſonments as he thinks fit. Nor did the legiſlature do any thing in this that was unprecedented. The Habeas Corpus act was made but about five and thirty years ago, and ſince that time has been ſuſpended four times before his preſent Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne: Twice under the reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*; once under the reign of King *William*; and once under the reign of Queen *Anne*.

The neceſſity of this law at this time aroſe from the proſpect of an invaſion, which has ſince broke out into an actual rebellion; and from informations of ſecret and dangerous practices among men of conſiderable figure, who could not have been prevented from doing miſchief to their country but by ſuch a ſuſpenſion of this act of parliament.

I cannot however but obſerve, that notwithſtanding the lawfulneſs and neceſſity of ſuch a ſuſpenſion, had not the rebellion broke out after the paſſing of this act of parliament, I do not know how thoſe, who had been the moſt inſtrumental in procuring it, could have eſcaped that popular odium, which their malicious and artful enemies have now in vain endeavoured

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to ſtir up againſt them. Had it been poſſible for the vigilance and endeavours of a miniſtry to have hindered even the attempt of an invaſion, their very endeavours might have proved prejudicial to them. Their prudent and reſolute precautions would have turned to their diſadvantage, had they not been juſtified by thoſe events, which they did all that was in their power to obviate. This naturally brings to mind the reflexion of *Tully* in the like circumſtances, 'that amidſt the diviſions of *Rome* a man was 'in an unhappy condition who had a ſhare in the 'adminiſtration, nay, even in the preſervation 'of the commonwealth.' *O conditionem miſeram non modo adminiſtrandæ, verùm etiam conſervandæ reipublicæ!*

Beſides, every unprejudiced man will conſider how mildly and equitably this power has been uſed. The perſons confined have been treated with all poſſible humanity, and abridged of nothing but the liberty of hurting their country, and very probably of ruining both themſelves and their families. And as to the numbers of thoſe who are under this ſhort reſtraint, it is very obſervable, that people do not ſeem ſo much ſurpriſed at the confinement of ſome, as at the liberty of many others. But we may from hence conclude, that every *Engliſhman* muſt obſerve with great pleaſure, that his Majeſty does not in this great point regulate himſelf by any private jealouſies or ſuſpicions, but by thoſe evidences and informations which he has received.

We have already found the good conſequences of this ſuſpenſion, in that it has hindered the rebellion from gathering the ſtrength it would otherwiſe have gained; not to mention thoſe numbers

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it has kept from engaging in ſo deſperate an enterpriſe, with the many lives it has preſerved, and the deſolations it has prevented.

For theſe and many other reaſons the repreſentatives of *Great-Britain* in parliament could never have anſwered it to the people they repreſent, who have found ſuch great benefits from the ſuſpenſion of the Habeus Corpus act, and without it muſt have felt ſuch fatal conſequences, had they not in a caſe of ſuch great neceſſity made uſe of this cuſtomary, legal, and reaſonable method for ſecuring his Majeſty on the throne, and their country from miſery or ruin.

N° 17 Friday, February 17.

——— *Hic niger eſt: hunc tu, romane, caveto.*
Hor. Sat. 4. l. 1. ver. 85.

This man's a knave; beſure, beware of him.
CREECH.

WE are told, that in *Turkey*, when any man is the author of notorious falſhoods, it is uſual to blacken the whole front of his houſe. Nay we have ſometimes heard that an ambaſſador, whoſe buſineſs it is, if I may quote his character in Sir *Henry Wooton*'s words, 'To lye 'for the good of his country,' has ſometimes had this mark ſet upon his houſe; when he has been detected in any piece of feigned intelligence, that has prejudiced the government,

and miſled the minds of the people. One could almoſt wiſh that the habitations of ſuch of our own countrymen, as deal in forgeries detrimental to the publick, were diſtinguiſhed in the ſame manner; that their fellow-ſubjects might be cautioned not to be too eaſy in giving credit to them. Were ſuch a method put in practice, this metropolis would be ſtrangely checquer'd; ſome entire Pariſhes would be in mourning, and ſeveral ſtreets darkened from one end to the other.

But I have given my thoughts in two preceding Papers, both on the inventors and the believers of theſe publick falſhoods and calumnies, and ſhall here ſpeak of that contempt with which they are and ought to be received by thoſe in high ſtations, at whom they are levelled. Any perſon indeed, who is zealous for promoting the intereſt of his country, muſt conquer all that tenderneſs and delicacy which may make him afraid of being ſpoken ill of; or his endeavours will often produce no leſs uneaſineſs to himſelf, than benefit to the publick. Among a people who indulge themſelves in the utmoſt freedoms of thought and ſpeech, a man muſt either be inſignificant, or able to bear an undeſerved reproach. A true patriot may comfort himſelf under the attacks of falſhood and obloquy, from ſeveral motives and reflexions.

In the firſt place he ſhould conſider, that the chief of his antagoniſts are generally acted by a ſpirit of envy; which would not riſe againſt him, if it were not provoked by his deſert. A ſtateſman, who is poſſeſt of real merit, ſhould look upon his political cenſurers with the ſame neglect, that a good writer regards his criticks; who

who are generally a race of men that are not able to diſcover the beauties of a work they examine, and deny that approbation to others, which they never met with themſelves. Patriots therefore ſhould rather rejoice in the ſucceſs of their honeſt deſigns, than be mortified by thoſe who miſrepreſent them.

They ſhould likewiſe conſider that not only envy, but vanity has a ſhare in the detraction of their adverſaries. Such aſperſions therefore do them honour, at the ſame time that they are intended to leſſen their reputation. They ſhould reflect, that thoſe who endeavour to ſtir up the multitude againſt them, do it to be thought conſiderable; and not a little applaud themſelves in a talent that can raiſe clamours out of nothing, and throw a ferment among the people, by murmurs or complaints, which they know in their own hearts are altogether groundleſs. There is a pleaſant inſtance of this nature recorded at length in the firſt book of the annals of *Tacitus*. When a great part of the *Roman* legions were in a diſpoſition to mutiny, an impudent varlet, who was a private centinel, being mounted upon the ſhoulders of his fellow-ſoldiers, and reſolved to try the power of his eloquence, addreſſed himſelf to the army in all the poſtures of an Orator, after the following manner: 'You have given liberty to theſe mi-'ſerable men;' ſaid he, (pointing to ſome criminals whom they had reſcued) 'but which 'of you can reſtore life to my brother? Who 'can give me back my brother? he was mur-'dered no longer ago than laſt night, by the 'hands of thoſe ruffians, who are entertained 'by the General to butcher the poor ſoldiery.' 'Tell me, *Blæſus*,' (for that was the name of

the General, who was then ſitting on the tribunal) 'tell me, where haſt thou caſt his dead 'body? an enemy does not grudge the rites of 'burial. When I have tired myſelf with kiſſing 'his cold corps, and weeping over it, order me 'to be ſlain upon it. All I aſk of my fellow-'ſoldiers, ſince we both die in their cauſe, is that 'they would lay me in the ſame grave with my 'brother.' The whole army was in an uproar at this moving ſpeech, and reſolved to do the ſpeaker juſtice, when upon enquiry, they found that he never had a brother in his life, and that he had ſtirred up the ſedition only to ſhew his parts.

Publick miniſters would likewiſe do well to conſider, that the principal authors of ſuch reproaches, as are caſt upon them, are thoſe who have a mind to get their places: And as for a cenſure ariſing from this motive, it is in their power to eſcape it when they pleaſe, and turn it upon their competitors. Malecontents of an inferior character are acted by the ſame principle; for ſo long as there are employments of all ſizes, there will be murmurers of all degrees. I have heard of a country-gentleman, who made a very long and melancholy complaint to the late Duke of *Buckingham*, when he was in great power at court, of ſeveral publick grievances. The Duke, after having given him a very patient hearing, 'My dear friend,' ſaid he, 'this is but too true; but I have thought of an 'expedient which will ſet all things right, and 'that very ſoon.' His country friend aſked him, what it was? 'You muſt know,' ſays the Duke, 'there is a place of five hundred pounds a 'year fallen this very morning, which I intend 'to put you in poſſeſſion of.' The gentleman thanked

thanked his grace, went away ſatisfied, and thought the nation the happieſt under heaven, during that whole miniſtry.

But farther, every man in a publick ſtation ought to conſider, that, when there are two different parties in a nation, they will ſee things in different lights. An action, however conducive to the good of our country, will be repreſented by the artful, and appear to the ignorant as prejudicial to it. Since I have here, according to the uſual liberty of eſſay-writers, rambled into ſeveral ſtories, I ſhall fetch one to my preſent purpoſe out of the *Perſian* hiſtory. We there read of a virtuous young Emperor, who was very much afflicted to find his actions miſconſtrued and defamed by a party among his ſubjects that favoured another intereſt. As he was one day ſitting among the miniſters of his *Divan*, and amuſing himſelf, after the *Eaſtern* manner, with the ſolution of difficult problems and ænigmas, he propoſed to them, in his turn, the following one; 'What is the tree that bears 'three hundred and ſixty-five leaves, which are 'all black on the one ſide, and white on the 'other?' His grand viſier immediately replied, it was the Year which conſiſted of three hundred and ſixty-five days and nights: 'But, Sir,' ſays he, 'permit me at the ſame time to take notice, 'that theſe leaves repreſent your actions, which 'carry different faces to your friends and ene-'mies, and will always appear black to thoſe 'who are reſolved only to look upon the wrong 'ſide of them.'

A virtuous man therefore, who lays out his endeavours for the good of his country, ſhould never be troubled at the reports which are made of him, ſo long as he is conſcious of his own

integrity. He ſhould rather be pleaſed to find people deſcanting upon his actions, becauſe, when they are thoroughly canvaſſed and examined, they are ſure in the end to turn to his honour and advantage. The reaſonable and unprejudiced part of mankind will be of his ſide, and rejoice to ſee their common intereſt lodged in ſuch honeſt hands. A ſtrict examination of a great man's character is like the trial of a ſuſpected chaſtity, which was made among the *Jews* by the waters of jealouſy. *Moſes* aſſures us, that the criminal burſt upon the drinking of them; but if ſhe was accuſed wrongfully, the *Rabbins* tell us, they heightened her charms, and made her much more amiable than before: So that they deſtroyed the guilty, but beautified the innocent.

N° 18 Monday, February 20.

—*Inopem me copia fecit.* Ovid. Met. l. 3. ver. 466.

—Too much plenty makes me die for want.

ADDISON.

EVERY *Engliſhman* will be a good ſubject to King *George*, in proportion as he is a good *Engliſhman*, and a lover of the conſtitution of his country. In order to awaken in my readers the love of this their Conſtitution, it may be neceſſary to ſet forth its ſuperior excellency to that form of government, which many wicked and ignorant men have of late years endeavoured to introduce among us. I ſhall not therefore think it improper to take notice from time to time of any particular act of power, exerted

exerted by thoſe among whom the Pretender to his Majeſty's crown has been educated; which would prove fatal to this nation, ſhould it be conquered and governed by a perſon, who in all probability, would put in practice the politicks in which he has been ſo long inſtructed.

There has been nothing more obſervable in the reign of his preſent *Gallick* Majeſty, than the method he has taken for ſupplying his exchequer with a neceſſary ſum of money. The ways and means for raiſing it has been an edict, or a command in writing ſigned by himſelf, to increaſe the value of Louis d'Ors from fourteen to ſixteen Livres, by virtue of a new ſtamp, which will be ſtruck upon them. As this method will bring all the gold of the Kingdom into his hands, it is provided by the ſame edict, that they ſhall be paid out again to the people at twenty Livres each; ſo that four Livres in the ſcore by this means accrue to his Majeſty out of all the money in the Kingdom of *France*.

This method of raiſing money is conſiſtent with that form of government, and with the repeated practice of their late grand Monarque; ſo that I ſhall not here conſider the many evil conſequences which it muſt have upon their trade, their exchange and publick credit. I ſhall only take notice of the whimſical circumſtances a people muſt lie under, who can be thus made poor or rich by an edict, which can throw an alloy into a Louis d'Or, and debaſe it into half its former value, or, if his Majeſty pleaſes, raiſe the price of it, not by the acceſſion of metal, but of a mark. By the preſent edict many a man in *France*, will ſwell into a plumb, who fell ſeveral thouſand pounds

ſhort of it the day before its publication. This conveys a kind of fairy treaſure into their cheſts, even while they are under lock and key; and is a ſecret of multiplication without addition. It is natural enough however for the vanity of the *French* nation to grow inſolent upon this imaginary wealth, not conſidering that their neighbours think them no more rich by virtue of an edict to make fourteen twenty, than they would think them more formidable ſhould there be another edict to make every man in the Kingdom ſeven foot high.

It was uſual for his late moſt chriſtian Majeſty to ſink the value of their Louis d'Ors about the time he was to receive the taxes of his good people, and to raiſe them when he had got them ſafe into his coffers. And there is no queſtion but the preſent government in that Kingdom will ſo far obſerve this kind of conduct, as to reduce the twenty Livres to their old number of fourteen, when they have paid them out of their hands; which will immediately ſink the preſent tympany of wealth, and re-eſtabliſh the natural poverty of the *Gallick* Nation.

One cannot but pity the melancholy condition of a miſer in this country, who is perpetually telling his Livres, without being able to know how rich he is. He is as ridiculouſly puzzled and perplexed as a man that counts the ſtones on *Saliſbury* plain, which can never be ſettled to any certain number, but are more or fewer every time he reckons them.

I have heard of a young *French* lady, a ſubject of *Louis* the Fourteenth, who was contracted to a Marquis upon the foot of a five thouſand pound fortune, which ſhe had by her in ſpecie; but one of theſe unlucky edicts coming out a week

week before the intended marriage, ſhe loſt a thouſand pound, and her bridegroom into the bargain.

The uncertainty of riches is a ſubject much diſcourſed of in all countries, but may be inſiſted on more emphatically in *France* than any other. A man is here under ſuch a kind of ſituation, as one who is managed by a juggler. He fancies he has ſo many pieces of money in his hand; but let him graſp them never ſo carefully, upon a word or two of the artiſt they increaſe or dwindle to what number the doctor is pleaſed to name.

This method of lowering or advancing money, we, who have the happineſs to be in another form of government, ſhould look upon as an unwarrantable kind of clipping and coining. However, as it is an expedient that is often practiſed, and may be juſtified in that conſtitution which has been ſo thoroughly ſtudied by the Pretender to his Majeſty's Crown, I do not ſee what ſhould have hindered him from making uſe of ſo expeditious a method for raiſing a ſupply, if he had ſucceeded in his late attempt to dethrone his Majeſty, and ſubvert our conſtitution. I ſhall leave it to the conſideration of the Reader, if in ſuch a caſe the following edict, or ſomething very like it, might not have been expected.

"WHereas theſe our Kingdoms have long
"groaned under an expenſive and con-
"ſuming land-war, which has very much ex-
"hauſted the treaſure of the nation, we be-
"ing willing to increaſe the wealth of our peo-
"ple, and not thinking it adviſeable for this
"purpoſe to make uſe of the tedious methods

" of merchandiſe and commerce, which have
" been always promoted by a faction among
" the worſt of our ſubjects, and were ſo wiſely
" diſcountenanced by the beſt of them in the
" late reign, do hereby enact by our ſole will
" and pleaſure, that every ſhilling in *Great-*
" *Britain* ſhall paſs in all payments for the ſum
" of fourteen pence, till the firſt of *September*
" next, and that every other piece of money
" ſhall riſe and paſs in current payment in the
" ſame proportion. The advantage, which will
" accrue to theſe nations by this our royal do-
" native, will viſibly appear to all men of ſound
" principles, who are ſo juſtly famous for their
" antipathy to ſtrangers, and would not ſee
" the landed intereſt of their country wea-
" kened by the importations of foreign gold
" and ſilver: But ſince by reaſon of the great
" debts which we have contracted abroad dur-
" ing our fifteen years reign, as well as of our
" preſent exigencies, it will be neceſſary to fill
" our exchequer by the moſt prudent and ex-
" peditious methods, we do alſo hereby order
" every one of our ſubjects to bring in theſe
" his fourteen-penny pieces, and all the other
" current caſh of this Kingdom, by what new
" titles ſoever dignified or diſtinguiſhed, to the
" maſter of our mint, who, after having ſet a
" mark upon them, ſhall deliver out to them,
" on or after the firſt of *September* aforeſaid,
" their reſpective ſums, taking only four-pence
" for ourſelf for ſuch his mark on every four-
" teen-penny piece, which from thenceforth
" ſhall paſs in payment for eighteen-pence, and
" ſo in proportion for the reſt. By this method,
" the money of this nation will be more by
" one third than it is at preſent; and we ſhall

" content

" content ourſelf with not quite one fifth part
" of the current caſh of our loving ſubjects;
" which will but barely ſuffice to clear the in-
" tereſt of all thoſe ſums in which we ſtand in-
" debted to our moſt dear brother and ancient
" ally. We are glad of this opportunity of
" ſhewing ſuch an inſtance of our goodneſs to
" our ſubjects, by this our royal edict, which
" ſhall be read in every pariſh church of *Great-*
" *Britain*, immediately after the celebration of
" high maſs. FOR SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE."

N° 19 Friday, February 24.

Pulchrum eſt bene facere reipublicæ; etiam bene dicere haud abſurdum eſt. Saluſt. Bell. Catil. 3.

To ſerve the public, is highly honourable; and no diſcredit to any man, to ſpeak well of it.

IT has been uſual theſe many years for Writers, who have approved the ſcheme of Government which has taken place, to explain to the people the reaſonableneſs of thoſe principles which have prevailed, and to juſtify the conduct of thoſe who act in conformity to ſuch principles. It therefore happens well for the party which is undermoſt, when a work of this nature falls into the hands of thoſe who content themſelves to attack their principles, without expoſing their perſons, or ſingling out any particular objects for ſatire and ridicule. This manner of proceeding is no inconſiderable piece of merit in Writers,

Writers, who are often influenced by a desire of fame, than a regard to the publick good; and who, by this means, lose many fair opportunities of shewing their own wit, or of gratifying the ill-nature of their Readers.

When a man thinks a party engaged in such measures as tend to the ruin of his country, it is certainly a very laudable and virtuous action in him to make war after this manner upon the whole body. But as several casuists are of opinion, that in a battle you should discharge upon the gross of the enemy, without levelling your piece at any particular person; so in this kind of combat also, I cannot think it fair to aim at any one man, and make his character the mark of your hostilities. There is now to be seen in the castle of *Milan* a cannon-bullet, inscribed, 'this to the marshal *de* '*Crequi*,' which was the very ball that shot him. An author, who points his satire at a great man, is to be looked upon in the same view with the engineer, who signalized himself by this ungenerous practice.

But as the Spirit of the Whigs and Tories shews itself, upon every occasion, to be very widely different from one another; so is it particularly visible in the writings of this kind, which have been published by each party. The latter may indeed assign one reason to justify themselves in this practice; that, having nothing of any manner of weight to offer against the principles of their antagonists, if they speak at all, it must be against their persons. When they cannot refute an adversary, the shortest way is to libel him; and to endeavour at the making his person odious, when they cannot represent his notions as absurd.

The

The *Examiner* was a Paper in the laſt reign, which was the favourite-work of the party. It was uſhered into the world by a letter from a Secretary of State, ſetting forth the great genius of the Author, the uſefulneſs of his deſign, and the mighty conſequences that were to be expected from it. It is ſaid to have been written by thoſe among them whom they looked upon as their moſt celebrated Wits and Politicians, and was diſperſed into all quarters of the nation with great induſtry and expence. Who would not have expected, that at leaſt the rules of decency and candour would be obſerved in ſuch a performance? But inſtead of this, you ſaw all the great men, who had done eminent ſervices to their country but a few years before, draughted out one by one, and baited in their turns. No ſanctity of character, or privilege of Sex, exempted perſons from this barbarous uſage. Several of our Prelates were the ſtanding marks of publick rallery, and many Ladies of the firſt Quality branded by name for matters of fact, which, as they were falſe, were not heeded, and if they had been true were innocent. The dead themſelves were not ſpared. And here I cannot forbear taking notice of a kind of wit, which has lately grown into faſhion among the verſifiers, epigrammatiſts, and other Authors, who think it ſufficient to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for what they call the high-church, while they ſport with the moſt tremendous parts of revealed religion. Every one has ſeen epigrams upon the deceaſed fathers of our church, where the whole thought has turned upon hell-fire. Patriots, who ought to be remembered with honour by their poſterity, have been introduced as ſpeakers in a ſtate of torments. There is ſomething dreadful even in repeating

peating these execrable pieces of wit, which no man who really believes in another life can peruse without fear and trembling. It is astonishing to see readers, who call themselves Christians, applauding such diabolical mirth, and seeming to rejoice in the doom which is pronounced against their enemies by such abandoned scribblers. A Wit of this kind may with great truth be compared to the fool in the *Proverbs*, 'who plays with arrows, firebrands and 'death, and says, am I not in sport?'

I must, in justice to the more sober and considerate of that party, confess, that many of them were highly scandalized at that personal slander and reflexion which was flung out so freely by the libellers of the last reign, as well as by those profane liberties which have been since continued. And as for those who are either the authors or admirers of such compositions, I would have them consider with themselves, whether the name of a good churchman can atone for the want of that charity which is the most essential part of christianity. They would likewise do well to reflect, how, by these methods, the poison has run freely into the minds of the weak and ignorant; heightned their rage against many of their fellow-subjects; and almost divested them of the common sentiments of humanity.

In the former part of this Paper, I have hinted that the design of it is to oppose the principles of those who are enemies to the present government, and the main body of that party who espouse those principles. But even in such general attacks there are certain measures to be kept, which may have a tendency rather to gain, than to irritate those who differ with you in their sentiments. The *Examiner* would not allow such, as

were

were of a contrary opinion to him, to be either Chriſtians or fellow-ſubjects. With him they were all atheiſts, deiſts, or apoſtates, and a ſeparate commonwealth among themſelves, that ought either to be extirpated, or, when he was in a better humour, only to be baniſhed out of their native country. They were often put in mind of ſome approaching execution, and therefore all of them adviſed to prepare themſelves for it, as men who had then nothing to take care of, but how to die decently. In ſhort, the *Examiner* ſeemed to make no diſtinction between conqueſt and deſtruction.

The conduct of this work has hitherto been regulated by different views, and ſhall continue to be ſo, unleſs the party it has to deal with draw upon themſelves another kind of treatment. For if they ſhall perſiſt in pointing their batteries againſt particular perſons, there are no laws of war that forbid the making of repriſals. In the mean time, this undertaking ſhall be managed with that generous ſpirit which was ſo remarkable among the *Romans*, who did not ſubdue a country in order to put the inhabitants to fire and ſword, but to incorporate them into their own community, and make them happy in the ſame government with themſelves.

Monday,

N°20 Monday, February 27.

Privatus illis cenſus erat brevis,
Commune magnum— Hor. Od. 15. l. 2. ver. 13:

To th' publick rich, in private poor,
Th' *Exchequer* held their greateſt ſtore.

CHETWOOD.

IT is very unlucky for thoſe who make it their buſineſs to raiſe popular murmurs and diſcontents againſt his Majeſty's government, that they find ſo very few, and ſo very improper occaſions for them. To ſhew how hard they are ſet in this particular, there are ſeveral, who, for want of other materials, are forced to repreſent the bill which has paſſed this ſeſſion, for laying an additional Tax of two ſhillings in the pound upon land, as a kind of grievance upon the ſubject. If this be a matter of complaint, it ought in juſtice to fall upon thoſe who have made it neceſſary. Had there been no Rebellion, there would have been no increaſe of the Land-Tax; ſo that in proportion as a man declares his averſion to the one, he ought to teſtify his abhorrence of the other. But it is very remarkable that thoſe, who would perſuade the people that they are aggrieved by this additional burden, are the very perſons who endeavour, in their ordinary converſation, to extenuate the hainouſneſs of the rebellion, and who expreſs the greateſt tenderneſs for the perſons of the rebels. They ſhew a particular indulgence for

for that unnatural inſurrection which has drawn this load upon us, and are angry at the means which were neceſſary for ſuppreſſing it. There needs no clearer proof of the ſpirit and intention with which they act: I ſhall therefore adviſe my Fellow-Free-Holders to conſider the character of any perſon who would poſſeſs them with the notion of a hardſhip that is put upon the country by this Tax. If he be one of known affection to the preſent eſtabliſhment, they may imagine there is ſome reaſon for complaint. But if on the contrary he be one, who has ſhewn himſelf indifferent as to the ſucceſs of the preſent rebellion, or is ſuſpected as a private abettor of it, they may take it for granted, his complaint againſt the Land-Tax is either the rage of a diſappointed man, or the artifice of one who would alienate their affections from the preſent Government.

The expence, which will ariſe to the nation from this rebellion, is already computed at near a million. And it is a melancholy conſideration for the Free-Holders of *Great-Britain*, that the treaſon of their fellow-ſubjects ſhould bring upon them as great a charge as the war with *France*. At the ſame time every reaſonable man among them will pay a Tax with at leaſt as great chearfulneſs for ſtifling a civil war in its birth, as for carrying on a war in a foreign country. Had not our firſt ſupplies been effectual for the cruſhing of our domeſtick enemies, we ſhould immediately have beheld the whole Kingdom a ſcene of ſlaughter and deſolation: Whereas, if we had failed in our firſt attempts upon a diſtant nation, we might have repaired the loſſes of our campaign by the advantages of another, and, after ſeveral victories gained

over

over us, might ſtill have kept the enemy from our gates.

As it was thus abſolutely neceſſary to raiſe a ſum that might enable the Government to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the rebellion, ſo could there be no method thought of for raiſing ſuch a ſum more proper, than this of laying an additional Tax of two ſhillings in the pound upon land.

In the firſt place: This Tax has already been ſo often tried, that we know the exact produce of it, which in any new project is always very doubtful and uncertain. As we are thus acquainted with the produce of this Tax, we find it is adequate to the ſervices for which it is deſigned, and that the additional Tax is proportioned to the ſupernumerary expence, which falls upon the kingdom this year by the unnatural rebellion, as it has been above ſtated.

In the next place: No other Tax could have been thought of, upon which ſo much money would have been immediately advanced as was neceſſary in ſo critical a juncture for puſhing our ſucceſſes againſt the rebels, and preventing the attempts of their friends and confederates both at home and abroad. No body cares to make loans upon a new and untried project; whereas, men never fail to bring in their money upon a Land-Tax, when the premium or intereſt allowed them is ſuited to the hazard they run by ſuch loans to the government. And here one cannot but bewail the misfortune of our country, when we conſider, that the houſe of commons had laſt year reduced this intereſt to four *per Cent.* by which means there was a conſiderable ſaving to the nation; but that this year they have been forced to give ſix *per Cent.* as well knowing the fatal conſequences that might

might have enſued, had there not been an intereſt allowed, which would certainly encourage the lender to venture, in ſuch a time of danger, what was indiſpenſably neceſſary for the exigencies of the publick.

Beſides; this is a method for raiſing a ſum of money, that, with the ordinary taxes, will in all probability defray the whole expence of the year: So that there is no burden laid upon our poſterity, who have been ſufficiently loaded by other means of raiſing money; nor any deficiency to be hereafter made up by ourſelves; which has been our caſe in ſo many other ſubſidies.

To this we may add; that we have no example of any other Tax, which in its nature would ſo particularly affect the enemies to his Majeſty's Government. Multitudes of Papiſts and Nonjurors will be obliged to furniſh a double proportion out of their revenues towards the clearing of that expence, which by their open and ſecret practices they have been inſtrumental in bringing upon their fellow-ſubjects.

I ſhall only mention one conſideration more; that no other Tax is ſo likely to ceaſe as this is, when there is no farther occaſion for it. this Tax is eſtabliſhed by a Houſe of Commons, which, by virtue of an act of Parliament paſſed a few years ago, muſt conſiſt for the moſt part of landed men; ſo that a great ſhare of the weight of it muſt neceſſarily fall upon the members of their own body. As this is an inſtance of their publick ſpirit, ſo we may be ſure they would not have exerted it, had there not been an abſolute neceſſity: Nor can we doubt, that for the ſame reaſons, when this neceſſity ceaſes, they will take the firſt opportunity of eaſing them-

themſelves in this particular, as well as thoſe whom they repreſent. It is a celebrated notion of a patriot, who ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf for the liberties of his country, that a Houſe of Commons ſhould never grant ſuch ſubſidies as are eaſy to be raiſed, and give no pain to the people, leſt the nation ſhould acquieſce under a burden they did not feel, and ſee it perpetuated without repining. Whether this notion might not be too refined, I ſhall not determine; but by what has been already ſaid, I think we may promiſe ourſelves, that this additional Tax of two ſhillings in the pound will not be continued another year, becauſe we may hope the rebellion will be entirely ended in this.

And here, I believe it muſt be obvious to every one's reflexion, that the rebellion might not have concluded ſo ſoon, had not this method been made uſe of for that end. A foreign potentate trembles at the thought of entring into a war with ſo wealthy an enemy as the *Britiſh* nation, when he finds the whole landed intereſt of the kingdom engaged to oppoſe him with their united force; and at all times ready to employ againſt him ſuch a part of their revenues, as ſhall be ſufficient to baffle his deſigns upon their country: Eſpecially, when none can imagine, that he expects any encouragement from thoſe, whoſe fortunes are either lodged in the funds, or employed in trade.

The wiſdom therefore of the preſent Houſe of Commons has by this Tax not only enabled the King to ſubdue thoſe of his own ſubjects who have been actually in arms againſt him, but to divert any of his neighbours from the hopes of lending them a competent aſſiſtance.

Friday,

N°21 Friday, March 2.

Qualis in Eurotæ ripis, aut per juga Cynthi,
Exercet Diana choros; quam mille ſecutæ
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur orçades: illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradienſque deas ſupereminet omnes.

Virg. Æn. 1. ver. 502.

Such on *Eurotas'* banks, or *Cynthus'* height,
Diana ſeems; and ſo ſhe charms the ſight,
When in the dance the graceful goddeſs leads
The choir of nymphs, and overtops their heads:
Known by her quiver, and her lofty mien,
She walks majeſtick, and ſhe looks their Queen.

DRYDEN.

IT is not eaſy for any one, who ſaw the magnificence of yeſterday in the Court of *Great-Britain*, to turn his thoughts for ſome time after on any other ſubject. It was a ſolemnity every way ſuited to the birth-day of a Princeſs, who is the delight of our nation, and the glory of her Sex. *Homer* tells us, that when the daughter of *Jupiter* preſented herſelf among a crowd of goddeſſes, ſhe was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by her graceful ſtature, and known by her ſuperior beauty, notwithſtanding they were all beautiful. Such was the appearance of the Princeſs of *Wales* among our *Britiſh* Ladies; or (to uſe a more ſolemn phraiſe) of 'the King's daughter among 'her honourable women.' Her Royal Highneſs in the midſt of ſuch a circle raiſes in the beholder the idea of a fine picture, where (notwithſtanding

ing the diverſity of pleaſing objects that fill up the canvas) the principal figure immediately takes the eye, and fixes the attention.

When this excellent Princeſs was yet in her father's court, ſhe was ſo celebrated for the Beauty of her perſon, and the accompliſhments of her mind, that there was no Prince in the empire, who had room for ſuch an alliance, that was not ambitious of gaining her into his family, either as a daughter, or as a conſort. He, who is now the chief of the crowned heads in *Europe*, and was then King of *Spain*, and heir to all the dominions of the houſe of *Auſtria*, ſought her in marriage. Could her mind have been captivated with the glories of this world, ſhe had them all laid before her; but ſhe generouſly declined them, becauſe ſhe ſaw the acceptance of them was inconſiſtent with what ſhe eſteems more than all the glories of this world, the enjoyment of her religion. Providence however kept in ſtore a reward for ſuch an exalted virtue; and, by the ſecret methods of its wiſdom, opened a way for her to become the greateſt of her Sex, among thoſe who profeſs that faith to which ſhe adhered with ſo much chriſtian magnanimity.

This her illuſtrious conduct might, in the eye of the world, have loſt its merit, had ſo accompliſhed a Prince as his Royal Highneſs declared his paſſion for the ſame alliance at that time: It would then have been no wonder that all other propoſals had been rejected. But it was the fame of this heroick conſtancy that determined his Royal Highneſs to deſire in marriage a Princeſs whoſe perſonal charms, which had before been ſo univerſally admired, were now become the leaſt part of her character. We of the *Britiſh* nation

nation have reaſon to rejoice that ſuch a propoſal was made and accepted; and that her Royal Highneſs, with regard to theſe two ſucceſſive treaties of marriage, ſhewed as much prudence in her compliance with the one, as piety in her refuſal of the other.

The Princeſs was no ſooner arrived at *Hanover*, than ſhe improved the luſtre of that court, which was before reckoned among the politeſt in *Europe*; and increaſed the ſatisfaction of that people, who were before looked upon as the happieſt in the empire. She immediately became the darling of the Princeſs *Sophia*, who was acknowledged in all the courts of *Europe* the moſt accompliſhed woman of the age in which ſhe lived, and who was not a little pleaſed with the converſation of one in whom ſhe ſaw ſo lively an image of her own youth.

But I ſhall inſiſt no longer on that reputation which her Royal Highneſs has acquired in other countries. We daily diſcover thoſe admirable qualities for which ſhe is ſo juſtly famed, and rejoice to ſee them exerted in our own country, where we ourſelves are made happy by their influence. We are the more pleaſed to behold the throne of theſe kingdoms ſurrounded by a numerous and beautiful progeny, when we conſider the virtues of thoſe from whom they deſcend. Not only the features, but the mind of the parent is often copied out in the offspring. But the Princeſs, we are ſpeaking of, takes the ſureſt method of making her royal iſſue like herſelf, by inſtilling early into their minds all the principles of religion, virtue, and honour, and ſeaſoning their tender years with all that knowledge which they are capable of receiving. What may we not

not hope from such an uncommon care in the education of the children of *Great-Britain*, who are directed by such precepts, and will be formed by such an example!

The conjugal virtues are so remarkable in her Royal Highness, as to deserve those just and generous returns of love and tenderness, for which the Prince her husband is so universally celebrated.

But there is no part of her Royal Highness's character, which we observe with greater pleasure, than that behaviour by which she has so much endeared herself to his Majesty; though indeed we have no reason to be surprised at this mutual intercourse of duty and affection, when we consider so wise and virtuous a Princess possessing, in the same sacred person, the kindest of fathers, and the best of Kings. And here it is natural for us to congratulate our own good fortune, who see our Sovereign blest with a numerous issue, among whom are heirs male in two direct descents, which has not happened in the reign of any *English* King since the time of his Majesty's great ancestor *Edward* the Third, and is a felicity not enjoyed by the subjects of any other of the Kings of *Europe* who are his contemporaries. We are like men entertained with the view of a spacious landskip, where the eye passes over one pleasing prospect into another, until the sight is lost by degrees in a succession of delightful objects, and leaves us in the persuasion that there remain still more behind.

But if we regard her Royal Highness in that light which diffuses the greatest glory round a human character, we shall find the Christian no less conspicuous than the Princess. She is as

eminent

nent for a ſincere piety in the practice of religion, as for an inviolable adherence to its principles. She is conſtant in her attendance on the daily offices of our church, and, by her ſerious and devout comportment on theſe ſolemn occaſions, gives an example, that is very often too much wanted in courts.

Her religion is equally free from the weakneſs of ſuperſtition, and the fourneſs of enthuſiaſm. It is not of that uncomfortable melancholy nature, which diſappoints its own end, by appearing unamiable to thoſe whom it would gain to its intereſts. It diſcovers itſelf in the genuine effects of chriſtianity, in affability, compaſſion, benevolence, evenneſs of mind, and all the offices of an active and univerſal charity.

As a chearful temper is the neceſſary reſult of theſe virtues, ſo it ſhines out in all the parts of her converſation, and diſſipates thoſe apprehenſions which naturally hang on the timorous or the modeſt, when they are admitted to the honour of her preſence. There is none that does not liſten with pleaſure to a perſon in ſo high a ſtation, who condeſcends to make herſelf thus agreeable, by mirth without levity, and wit without ill-nature.

Her Royal Highneſs is, indeed, poſſeſt of all thoſe talents, which make converſation either delightful or improving. As ſhe has a fine taſte of the elegant arts, and is ſkilled in ſeveral modern languages, her diſcourſe is not confined to the ordinary ſubjects or forms of converſation, but can adapt itſelf with an uncommon grace to every occaſion, and entertain the politeſt perſons of different nations. I need not mention, what is obſerved by every one, that agreeable turn which appears in her ſentiments

upon the moſt ordinary affairs of life, and which is ſo ſuitable to the delicacy of her ſex, the politeneſs of her education, and the ſplendor of her quality.

It would be vain to think of drawing into the compaſs of this Paper the many eminent virtues which adorn the character of this great Princeſs: But as it is one chief end of this undertaking to make the people ſenſible of the bleſſings which they enjoy under his Majeſty's reign, I could not but lay hold on this opportunity to ſpeak of that which ought in juſtice to be reckoned among the greateſt of them.

N° 22 Monday, March 5.

Studiis rudis, ſermone barbarus, impetu ſtrenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer. Vell. Paterc.

Unpolitely educated, expreſſing himſelf in vulgar language, boiſterous, eager at a fray, and overhaſty in taking up an opinion.

FOR the honour of his Majeſty, and the ſafety of his Government, we cannot but obſerve, that thoſe, who have appeared the greateſt enemies to both, are of that rank of men, who are commonly diſtinguiſhed by the title of Fox-hunters. As ſeveral of theſe have had no part of their education in cities, camps, or courts, it is doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or uſe to the nation in which they live. It would be an everlaſting reproach to politicks, ſhould ſuch men be able to overturn an eſtabliſh-

ment

ment which has been formed by the wiſeſt laws, and is ſupported by the ableſt heads. The wrong notions and prejudices which cleave to many of theſe country-gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed, are not eaſy to be conceived by a perſon who has never converſed with him.

That I may give my readers an image of theſe rural ſtateſmen, I ſhall, without farther preface, ſet down an account of a diſcourſe I chanced to have with one of them ſome time ago. I was travelling towards one of the remoteſt parts of *England*, when about three o'clock in the afternoon, ſeeing a country gentleman trotting before me with a ſpaniel by his horſe's ſide, I made up to him. Our converſation opened, as uſual, upon the weather; in which we were very unanimous, having both agreed that it was too dry for the ſeaſon of the Year. My fellow-traveller, upon this, obſerved to me, there had been no good weather ſince the Revolution. I was a little ſtartled at ſo extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him till he proceeded to tell me of the fine weather they uſed to have in King *Charles* the Second's reign. I only anſwered, that I did not ſee how the badneſs of the weather could be the King's fault; and, without waiting for his reply, aſked him, whoſe houſe it was we ſaw upon a riſing ground at a little diſtance from us. He told me it belonged to an old fanatical cur, Mr. Such-a-one, 'You muſt 'have heard of him,' ſays he, 'he is one of the 'rump.' I knew the gentleman's character upon hearing his name, but aſſured him, that to my knowledge he was a good churchman: ay! ſays he with a kind of ſurpriſe, 'we are told in the 'country, that he ſpoke twice in the Queen's

'time againſt taking off the duties upon *French* 'claret.' This naturally led us into the proceedings of late Parliaments, upon which occaſion he affirmed roundly, that there had not been one good law paſſed ſince King *William*'s acceſſion to the Throne, except the act for preſerving the Game. I had a mind to ſee him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him. 'Is it not 'hard,' ſays he, 'that honeſt gentlemen ſhould 'be taken into cuſtody of meſſengers to 'prevent them from acting according to their 'conſciences? But,' ſays he, 'what can we ex-'pect when a parcel of factious ſons of whores'— He was going on in great paſſion, but chanced to miſs his dog, who was amuſing himſelf about a buſh that grew at ſome diſtance behind us. We ſtood ſtill until he had whiſtled him up; when he fell into a long panegyrick upon his ſpaniel, who ſeemed indeed excellent in his kind: But I found the moſt remarkable adventure of his life was, that he had once like to have worried a diſſenting-teacher. The maſter could hardly ſit on his horſe for laughing all the while he was giving me the particulars of this ſtory, which I found had mightily endeared his dog to him, and, as he himſelf told me, had made him a great favourite among all the honeſt gentlemen of the country. We were at length diverted from this piece of mirth by a poſt-boy, who winding his horn at us, my companion gave him two or three curſes, and left the way clear for him. 'I fancy,' ſaid I, 'that poſt brings news from *Scotland*. I ſhall 'long to ſee the next *Gazette*. Sir,' ſays he, 'I make it a rule never to believe any of 'your printed news. We never ſee, Sir, how 'things go, except now and then in *Dyer*'s 'letter, and I read that more for the ſtile than

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'the news. The man has a clever pen it muſt 'be owned. But is it not ſtrange that we ſhould 'be making war upon Church of *England* 'men, with *Dutch* and *Swiſs* ſoldiers, men of an-'timonarchical principles? Theſe foreigners will 'never be loved in *England*, Sir; they have not 'that wit and good breeding that we have.' I muſt confeſs, I did not expect to hear my new acquaintance value himſelf upon theſe qualifications; but finding him ſuch a critick upon foreigners, I aſked him, if he had ever travelled? He told me, he did not know what travelling was good for, but to teach a man to ride the great horſe, to jabber *French*, and to talk againſt paſſive obedience: To which he added, that he ſcarce ever knew a Traveller in his life who had not forſook his principles, and loſt his hunting-ſeat. 'For my part,' ſays he, 'I and my fa-'ther before me have always been for paſſive-'obedience, and ſhall be always for oppoſing a 'Prince who makes uſe of miniſters that are of 'another opinion. But where do you intend to 'inn to night? (for we were now come in ſight 'of the next town) I can help you to a very 'good landlord, if you will go along with me. 'He is a luſty jolly fellow, that lives well, at leaſt 'three yards in the girth, and the beſt Church 'of *England* man upon the road.' I had the curioſity to ſee this high church inn-keeper, as well as to enjoy more of the converſation of my fellow-traveller, and therefore readily conſented to ſet our horſes together for that night. As we rode ſide by ſide through the town, I was let into the characters of all the principal inhabitants whom we met in our way. One was a dog, another a whelp, another a cur, and another the ſon of a bitch, under which ſeveral

denominations were comprehended all that voted on the Whig ſide in the laſt election of burgeſſes. As for thoſe of his own party, he diſtinguiſhed them by a nod of his head, and aſking them, how they did by their Chriſtian names. Upon our arrival at the inn, my companion fetched out the jolly landlord, who knew him by his whiſtle. Many endearments and private whiſpers paſſed between them; though it was eaſy to ſee, by the landlord's ſcratching his head, that things did not go to their wiſhes. The landlord had ſwelled his body to a prodigious ſize, and worked up his complexion to a ſtanding crimſon by his zeal for the proſperity of the Church, which he expreſſed every hour of the day, as his cuſtomers dropped in, by repeated bumpers. He had not time to go to church himſelf, but, as my friend told me in my ear, had headed a mob at the pulling down of two or three meeting houſes. While ſupper was preparing, he enlarged upon the happineſs of the neighbouring ſhire; 'for,' ſays he, 'there is 'ſcarce a Preſbyterian in the whole county, ex-'cept the Biſhop.' In ſhort, I found by his diſcourſe that he had learned a great deal of politicks, but not one word of religion, from the Parſon of his pariſh; and indeed, that he had ſcarce any other notion of religion, but that it conſiſted in hating Preſbyterians. I had a remarkable inſtance of his notions in this particular. Upon ſeeing a poor decrepit old woman paſs under the window where he ſat, he deſired me to take notice of her; and afterwards informed me, that ſhe was generally reputed a witch by the country people, but that, for his part, he was apt to believe, ſhe was a Preſbyterian.

Supper

Supper was no ſooner ſerved in, than he took occaſion, from a ſhoulder of mutton that lay before us, to cry up the plenty of *England*, which would be the happieſt country in the world, provided we would live within ourſelves Upon which, he expatiated upon the inconveniencies of trade, that carried from us the commodities of our country, and made a parcel of upſtarts, as rich as men of the moſt ancient families of *England*. He then declared frankly, that he had always been againſt all treaties and alliances with foreigners. 'Our wooden walls,' ſays he, 'are 'our ſecurity, and we may bid defiance to the 'whole world, eſpecially, if they ſhould attack us 'when the militia is out.' I ventured to reply, that I had as great an opinion of the *Engliſh* fleet as he had; but I could not ſee how they could be paid, and manned, and fitted out, unleſs we encouraged trade and navigation. He replied, with ſome vehemence, that he would undertake to prove trade would be the ruin of the *Engliſh* nation. I would fain have put him upon it, but he contented himſelf with affirming it more eagerly, to which he added two or three curſes upon the *London* Merchants, not forgetting the Directors of the *Bank*. After ſupper, he aſked me, if I was an admirer of punch; and immediately called for a ſneaker. I took this occaſion to inſinuate the advantages of trade, by obſerving to him, that water was the only native of *England* that could be made uſe of on this occaſion: But that the lemons, the brandy, the ſugar, and the nutmeg, were all foreigners. This put him into ſome confuſion; but the landlord, who overheard me, brought him off, by affirming, that for conſtant uſe there was no liquor like a cup of *Engliſh* water, provided it had malt enough in

it. My ſquire laughed heartily at the conceit, and made the landlord ſit down with us. We ſat pretty late over our punch; and amidſt a great deal of improving diſcourſe, drank the healths of ſeveral perſons in the country, whom I had never heard of, that, they both aſſured me, were the ableſt ſtateſmen in the nation: And of ſome *Londoners*, whom they extolled to the ſkies, for their wit, and who, I knew, paſſed in town for ſilly fellows. It being now midnight, and my friend perceiving by his almanack, that the moon was up, he called for his horſes, and took a ſudden reſolution to go to his houſe, which was at three miles diſtance from the town, after having bethought himſelf, that he never ſlept well out of his own bed. He ſhook me very heartily by the hand at parting, and diſcovered a great air of ſatisfaction in his looks, that he had met with an opportunity of ſhewing his parts, and left me a much wiſer man than he found me.

N°23 Friday, March 9.

Illis ira modum ſupra eſt, et ſæpe venenum
Morſibus inſpirant—— Virg. Georg. 4. ver. 236.

—————————— The wrathful race,
When once provok'd, aſſault the aggreſſor's face;
There fix their ſtrings. DRYDEN.

IN the wars of *Europe* which were waged among our forefathers, it was uſual for the enemy, when there was a King in the field, to demand by a trumpet in what part of the camp

camp he reſided, that they might avoid firing upon the royal pavillion. Our party-conteſts in *England* were heretofore managed with the ſame kind of decency and good-breeding. The perſon of the Prince was always looked upon as ſacred; and whatever ſevere uſage his friends or miniſters met with, none preſumed to direct their hoſtilities at their Sovereign. The enemies of our preſent ſettlement are of ſuch a coarſe kind of make, and ſo equally void of loyalty and good-manners, that they are grown ſcurrilous upon the Royal family, and treat the moſt exalted characters with the moſt opprobrious language.

This petulance in converſation is particularly obſerved to prevail among ſome of that ſex where it appears the moſt unbecoming and the moſt unnatural. Many of theſe act with the greater licentiouſneſs, becauſe they know they can act with the greater impunity. This conſideration, indeed, engages the moſt generous and well bred, even of our She-malecontents, to make no ill uſe of the indulgence of our lawgivers; and to diſcover in their debates at leaſt, the delicacy of the woman, if not the duty of the ſubject. But it is generally remarked, that every one of them, who is a ſhrew in domeſtick life, is now become a ſcold in politicks. And as for thoſe of the party, who are of a ſuperior rank and unblemiſhed virtue, it muſt be a melancholy reflexion for them to conſider, that all the common-women of the town are of their ſide; for which reaſon they ought to preſerve a more than ordinary modeſty in their ſatirical excurſions, that their characters may not be liable to ſuſpicion.

If there is not ſome method found out for allaying theſe heats and animoſities among the fair

ſex, one does not know to what outrages they may proceed. I remember a hero in *Scarron*, who finding himſelf oppoſed by a mixed multitude of both ſexes with a great deal of virulent language, after having brought them to a ſubmiſſion, gave order (to keep them from doing farther miſchief) that the men ſhould be diſarmed of their clubs, and that the women ſhould have their nails pared. We are not yet reduced to the neceſſity of applying ſuch violent remedies; but as we daily receive accounts of Ladies battling it on both ſides, and that thoſe who appear againſt the conſtitution make war upon their antagoniſts, by many unfair practices and unwarrantable methods, I think it is very convenient there ſhould be a cartel ſettled between them. If they have not yet agreed upon any thing of this nature among themſelves, I would propoſe to them the following plan, in which I have ſketched out ſeveral rules ſuited to the politeſt ſex in one of the moſt civilized nations.

THAT in every political rencounter between woman and woman, no weapon ſhall be made uſe of but the tongue.

That in the courſe of the engagement, if either of the combatants, finding herſelf hard preſt by her adverſary, ſhall proceed to perſonal reflexions or diſcovery of ſecrets, they ſhall be parted by the ſtanders-by.

That when both ſides are drawn up in a full aſſembly, it ſhall not be lawful for above five of them to talk at the ſame time.

That if any ſhall detract from a Lady's character, (unleſs ſhe be abſent) the ſaid detractreſs ſhall be forthwith ordered to the loweſt place of the room.

That

That none preſume to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of his Majeſty, or any of the Royal family, on pain of three hours ſilence.

That none be permitted to talk ſpitefully of the Court, unleſs they can produce vouchers that they have been there.

That the making uſe of news which goes about in whiſper, unleſs the author be produced, or the fact well atteſted, ſhall be deemed fighting with white powder, and contrary to the laws of war.

That any one, who produces libels or lampoons, ſhall be regarded in the ſame manner as one who ſhoots with poiſoned bullets.

That when a Lady is thoroughly convinced of the falſhood of any ſtory ſhe has related, ſhe ſhall give her parole not to tell it for a certain truth that winter.

That when any matter of doubt ariſes which cannot otherwiſe be decided, appeal ſhall be made to a Toſt, if there be any ſuch in the company.

That no coquette, notwithſtanding ſhe can do it with a good air, ſhall be allowed to ſigh for the danger of the church, or to ſhiver at the apprehenſions of fanaticiſm.

That when a woman has talked an hour and an half, it ſhall be lawful to call her down to order.

As this civil diſcord among the ſiſterhood of *Great-Britain* is likely to engage them in a long and lingring war, conſiſting altogether of drawn battles, it is the more neceſſary that there ſhould be a cartel ſettled among them. Beſides, as our *Engliſh* ladies are at preſent the greateſt Stateſwomen in *Europe*, they will be in danger of making themſelves the moſt unamiable part of their

their ſex, if they continue to give a looſe to intemperate language, and to a low kind of ribaldry, which is not uſed among the women of faſhion in any other country.

Diſcretion and good nature have been always looked upon as the diſtinguiſhing ornaments of female converſation. The woman, 'whoſe price 'is above rubies,' has no particular, in the character given of her by the wiſe man, more endearing, than that 'ſhe openeth her mouth with 'wiſdom, and in her tongue is the law of kind-'neſs.' Beſides, every fierce ſhe-zealot ſhould conſider, that however any other of the ſex may ſeem to applaud her as a partiſan, there is none of them who would not be afraid of aſſociating himſelf with her in any of the more private relations of life.

I ſhall only add, that there is no talent ſo pernicious as eloquence, to thoſe who have it not under command: For which reaſon, women, who are ſo liberally gifted by nature in this particular, ought to ſtudy, with the greateſt application, the rules of female oratory, delivered in that excellent treatiſe, intitled, 'The government of the 'tongue.' Had that author foreſeen the political ferment which is now raiſed among the Sex, he would probably have made his book larger by ſome chapters than it is at preſent: but what is wanting in that work, may, I hope, in ſome meaſure, be ſupplied by the above-written cartel.

Monday,

N°24 Monday, March 12.

Bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum
Invictiſque viris geritis.— Virg. Æn. 11. ver. 305.

O citizens, ye wage unequal war
With men, not only heav'n's peculiar care,
But heav'n's own race, unconquer'd in the fields.
DRYDEN.

A Phyſician makes uſe of various methods for the recovery of ſick perſons; and though ſome of them are painful, and all of them diſagreeable, his patients are never angry at him, becauſe they know he has nothing in view beſides the reſtoring of them to a good ſtate of health. I am forced to treat the diſaffected part of his Majeſty's ſubjects in the ſame manner, and may therefore reaſonably expect the ſame returns of good-will. I propoſe nothing to myſelf but their happineſs as the end of all my endeavours; and am forced to adapt different remedies to thoſe different conſtitutions, which are to be found in ſuch a diſtempered multitude. Some of them can ſee the unreaſonable, and ſome of them the ridiculous ſide of wrong principles, and, according to the different frame of their minds, reject an opinion as it carries in it either the appearance of wickedneſs, or of danger, or of folly.

I have endeavoured to expoſe in theſe ſeveral lights the notions and practices of thoſe who are the enemies to our preſent eſtabliſhment.

But

But there is a ſet of arguments, which I have not yet touched upon, and which often ſucceed, when all others fail. There are many who will not quit a project, though they find it pernicious, or abſurd: But will readily deſiſt from it, when they are convinced it is impracticable. An attempt to ſubvert the preſent government is, God be thanked, of this nature. I ſhall therefore apply the conſiderations of this Paper rather to the diſcretion than the virtue of our Malecontents, who ſhould act in the preſent juncture of affairs like experienced gameſters, that throw up their cards when they know the game is in the enemy's hand, without giving themſelves any unneceſſary vexation in playing it out.

In the reign of our two laſt *Britiſh* Sovereigns, thoſe who did not favour their intereſt might be ungenerous enough to act upon the proſpect of a change, conſidering the precarious condition of their health, and their want of iſſue to ſucceed them. But at preſent we enjoy a King of a long-lived family, who is in the vigour of his age, and bleſt with a numerous progeny. To this we may add his remarkable ſteadineſs in adhering to thoſe ſchemes which he has formed upon the matureſt deliberation, and that ſubmiſſive deference of his Royal Highneſs both from duty and inclination to all the meaſures of his Royal Father. Nor muſt we omit that perſonal valour ſo peculiar to his Majeſty and his illuſtrious houſe, which would be ſufficient to vanquiſh, as we find it actually deters, both his foreign and domeſtick enemies.

This great Prince is ſupported by the whole proteſtant intereſt of *Europe*, and ſtrengthened with a long range of alliances that reach from

one

one end of the continent to the other. He has a great and powerful King for his ſon-in-law; and can himſelf command when he pleaſes the whole ſtrength of an electorate in the empire. Such a combination of Sovereigns puts one in mind of the apparition of Gods which diſcouraged *Æneas* from oppoſing the will of Heaven. When his eyes were cleared of that mortal cloud which hung upon them, he ſaw the ſeveral celeſtial deites acting in a confederacy againſt him, and immediately gave up a cauſe which was excluded from all poſſibility of ſucceſs.

But it is the greateſt happineſs, as well as the greateſt pleaſure, of our Sovereign, that his chief ſtrength lies in his own kingdoms. Both the branches of our legiſlature eſpouſe his cauſe and intereſt with a becoming duty and zeal. The moſt conſiderable and wealthy of his ſubjects are convinced, that the proſperity of our Sovereign and his people are inſeparable: And we are very well ſatisfied, that his Majeſty, if the neceſſity of affairs ſhould require it, might find amongſt the moſt dutiful of his ſubjects, men celebrated for their military characters, above any of the age in which they live. There is no queſtion but his Majeſty will be as generally valued and beloved in his *Britiſh* as he is in his *German* dominions, when he ſhall have time to make his Royal Virtues equally known among us. In the mean while we have the ſatisfaction to find that his enemies have been only able to make ill impreſſions upon the low and ignorant rabble of the nation; and to put the dregs of the people in a ferment.

We have already ſeen how poor and contemptible a force has been raiſed by thoſe who have dared to appear openly againſt his Majeſty, and how

how they were headed and encouraged by men whoſe ſenſe of their guilt made them deſperate in forming ſo raſh an enterpriſe, and diſpirited in the execution of it. But we have not yet ſeen that ſtrength which would be exerted in the defence of his Majeſty, the proteſtant religion, and the *Britiſh* liberties, were the danger great enough to require it. Should the King be reduced to the neceſſity of ſetting up the royal ſtandard, how many thouſands would range themſelves under it! what a concourſe would there be of nobles and patriots! we ſhould ſee men of another ſpirit than what has appeared among the enemies to our country, and ſuch as would outſhine the rebellious part of their fellow-ſubjects, as much in their galantry as in their cauſe.

I ſhall not ſo much ſuſpect the underſtandings of our adverſaries, as to think it neceſſary to enforce theſe conſiderations, by putting them in mind of that fidelity and allegiance which is ſo viſible in his Majeſty's fleet and army, or of many other particulars, which, in all human probability, will perpetuate our preſent form of Government, and which may be ſuggeſted to them by their own private thoughts.

The party, indeed, that is oppoſite to our preſent happy ſettlement, ſeem to be driven out of the hopes of all human methods for carrying on their cauſe, and are therefore reduced to the poor comfort of prodigies and old womens fables. They begin to ſee armies in the clouds, when all upon the earth have forſaken them. Nay, I have been lately ſhewn a written propheſy that is handed among them with great ſecrecy, by which it appears their chief reliance at preſent is upon a *Cheſhire* miller that was born with two thumbs upon one hand.

I

I have addreſſed this whole Paper to the deſpair of our Malecontents, not with a deſign to aggravate the pain of it, but to uſe it as a means of making them happy. Let them ſeriouſly conſider the vexation and diſquietude of mind that they are treaſuring up for themſelves, by ſtruggling with a power which will be always too hard for them; and by converting his Majeſty's reign into their own misfortune, which every impartial man muſt look upon as the greateſt bleſſing to his country. Let them extinguiſh thoſe paſſions, which can only imbitter their lives to them, and deprive them of their ſhare in the happineſs of the community. They may conclude, that his Majeſty, in ſpite of any oppoſition they can form againſt him, will maintain his juſt authority over them; and whatever uneaſineſs they may give themſelves, they can create none in him, excepting only becauſe they prevent him from exerting equally his natural goodneſs and benevolence to every ſubject in his dominions.

Friday,

N°25 Friday, March 16.

Quid eſt ſapientia? Semper idem velle atque idem nolle.
Seneca.

What is wiſdom? To be always of the ſame mind.

IF we may believe the obſervation which is made of us by foreigners, there is no nation in *Europe* ſo much given to change as the *Engliſh*. There are ſome who aſcribe this to the ficklenes of our climate; and others to the freedom of our government. From one or both of theſe cauſes their writers derive that variety of humours which appears among the people in general, and that inconſiſtency of character which is to be found in almoſt every particular perſon. But as a man ſhould always be upon his guard againſt the vices to which he is moſt expoſed, ſo we ſhould take a more than ordinary care not to lie at the mercy of the weather in our moral conduct, nor to make a capricious uſe of that liberty which we enjoy by the happineſs of our civil conſtitution.

This inſtability of temper ought in a particular manner to be checked, when it ſhews itſelf in political affairs, and diſpoſes men to wander from one ſcheme of government to another: Since ſuch a fickleneſs of behaviour in publick meaſures cannot but be attended with very fatal effects to our country.

In the firſt place: It hinders any great undertaking, which requires length of time for its

its accompliſhment, from being brought to its due perfection. There is not any inſtance in hiſtory which better confirms this obſervation, than that which is ſtill freſh in every one's memory. We engaged in the late war with a deſign to reduce an exorbitant growth of power in the moſt dangerous enemy to *Great-Britain*. We gained a long and wonderful ſeries of victories, and had ſcarce any thing left to do, but to reap the fruits of them: When on a ſudden our patience failed us; we grew tired of our undertaking; and received terms from thoſe who were upon the point of giving us whatever we could have demanded of them.

This mutability of mind in the *Engliſh* makes the ancient friends of our nation very backward to engage with us in ſuch alliances as are neceſſary for our mutual defence and ſecurity. It is a common notion among foreigners, that the *Engliſh* are good confederates in an enterpriſe which may be diſpatched within a ſhort compaſs of time; but that they are not to be depended upon in a work which cannot be finiſhed without conſtancy and perſeverance. Our late meaſures have ſo blemiſhed the national credit in this particular, that thoſe Potentates, who are entered into treaties with his preſent Majeſty, have been ſolely encouraged to it by their confidence in his perſonal firmneſs and integrity.

I need not, after this, ſuggeſt to my reader the ignominy and reproach that falls upon a nation, which diſtinguiſhes itſelf among its neighbours by ſuch a wavering and unſettled conduct.

This our inconſiſtency, in the purſuit of ſchemes which have been thoroughly digeſted, has as bad an influence on our domeſtick as on our foreign

foreign affairs. We are told, that the famous Prince of *Conde* uſed to aſk the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador upon the arrival of a mail, 'Who was 'Secretary of State in *England* by that poſt?' as a piece of rallery upon the ficklenes of our politicks. But what has rendered this a misfortune to our country, is, that publick Miniſters have no ſooner made themſelves maſters of their buſineſs than they have been diſmiſſed from their employments; and that this diſgrace has befallen very many of them, not becauſe they have deſerved it, but becauſe the people love to ſee new faces in high poſts of honour.

It is a double misfortune to a nation, which is thus given to change, when they have a Sovereign at the head of them, that is prone to fall in with all the turns and veerings of the people. *Saluſt*, the graveſt of all the *Roman* hiſtorians, who had formed his notions of regal authority from the manner in which he ſaw it exerted among the barbarous nations, makes the following remark: *Plerumque Regiæ Voluntates, uti vehementes, ſic mobiles, ſæpe ipſæ ſibi adverſæ.* "The wills of Kings, as they are generally "vehement, are likewiſe very fickle, and at diffe-"rent times oppoſite to themſelves." Were there any colour for this general obſervation, how much does it redound to the honour of ſuch Princes who are exceptions to it!

The natural conſequence of an unſteady Government is the perpetuating of ſtrife and faction among a divided people. Whereas a King who perſiſts in thoſe ſchemes which he has laid, and has no other view in them but the good of his ſubjects, extinguiſhes all hopes of advancement in thoſe who would grow great by an oppoſition to his meaſures, and inſenſibly unites

unites the contending parties in their common intereſt.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who makes the greateſt figure among our *Engliſh* Sovereigns, was moſt eminently remarkable for that ſteadineſs and uniformity which ran through all her actions, during that long and glorious reign. She kept up to her choſen motto in every part of her life; and never loſt ſight of thoſe great ends, which ſhe propoſed to herſelf on her acceſſion to the throne, the happineſs of her people, and the ſtrengthening of the Proteſtant intereſt. She often interpoſed her royal authority to break the cabals which were forming againſt her firſt Miniſters, who grew old and died in thoſe ſtations which they filled with ſo great abilities. By this means ſhe baffled the many attempts of her foreign and domeſtick enemies, and entirely broke the whole force and ſpirit of that party among her ſubjects, which was popiſhly affected, and which was not a little formidable in the beginning of her reign.

The frequent changes and alterations in publick proceedings, the multiplicity of ſchemes introduced one upon another, with the variety of ſhort-lived favourites, that prevailed in their ſeveral turns under the Government of her ſucceſſors, have by degrees broken us into thoſe unhappy diſtinctions and parties, which have given ſo much uneaſineſs to our Kings, and ſo often endangered the ſafety of their people.

I queſtion not but every impartial reader hath been beforehand with me, in conſidering, on this occaſion, the happineſs of our country under the Government of his preſent Majeſty; who is ſo deſervedly famous for an inflexible adherence to thoſe counſels which have a viſible tendency

to

to the publick good, and to thoſe perſons who heartily concur with him in promoting theſe his generous deſigns.

A Prince of this character will be dreaded by his enemies, and ſerved with courage and zeal by his friends; and will either inſtruct us by his example, to fix the unſteadineſs of our politicks, or by his conduct hinder it from doing us any prejudice.

Upon the whole, as there is no temper of mind more unmanly in a private perſon, nor more pernicious to the publick in a member of a community, than that changeableneſs with which we are too juſtly branded by all our neighbours, it is to be hoped, that the ſound part of the nation will give no farther occaſion for this reproach, but continue ſteady to that happy eſtabliſhment, which has now taken place among us. And as obſtinacy in prejudices, which are detrimental to our country, ought not to be miſtaken for that virtuous reſolution and firmneſs of mind which is neceſſary to our preſervation, it is to be wiſhed, that the enemies to our conſtitution would ſo far indulge themſelves in this national humour, as to come into one change more, by falling in with that plan of Government, which at preſent they think fit to oppoſe. At leaſt, we may expect they will be ſo wiſe as to ſhew a legal obedience to the beſt of Kings, who profeſs the duty of paſſive obedience to the worſt.

Monday,

N°26 Monday, March 19.

Bella viri pacemque gerant, queis bella gerenda.
Virg. Æn. 7. ver. 444.

Permit to men the thought of peace and war.
DRYDEN.

WHEN the *Athenians* had long contended againſt the power of *Philip*, he demanded of them to give up their orators, as well knowing their oppoſition would be ſoon at an end, if it were not irritated from time to time by theſe tongue-warriors. I have endeavoured for the ſame reaſon to gain our female adverſaries, and by that means to diſarm the party of its principal ſtrength. Let them give us up their women, and we know by experience how inconſiderable a reſiſtance we are to expect from their men.

This ſharp political humour has but lately prevailed in ſo great a meaſure as it now does among the beautiful part of our ſpecies. They uſed to employ themſelves wholly in the ſcenes of a domeſtick life, and provided a woman could keep her houſe in order, ſhe never troubled herſelf about regulating the commonwealth. The eye of the miſtreſs was wont to make her pewter ſhine, and to inſpect every part of her houſhold furniture, as much as her looking-glaſs. But at preſent our diſcontented matrons are ſo converſant in matters of State, that they wholly neglect their private affairs: for we

we may always obſerve, that a goſſip in politicks is a ſlattern in her family.

It is indeed a melancholy thing to ſee the diſorders of a houſhould that is under the conduct of an angry Stateſwoman, who lays out all her thoughts upon the publick, and is only attentive to find out miſcarriages in the miniſtry. Several women of this turn are ſo earneſt in contending for hereditary right, that they wholly neglect the education of their own ſons and heirs; and are ſo taken up with their zeal for the church, that they cannot find time to teach their children their catechiſm. A Lady who thus intrudes into the province of the men, was ſo aſtoniſhing a character among the old *Romans*, that when *Amæſia* preſented herſelf to ſpeak before the Senate, they looked upon it as a prodigy, and ſent meſſengers to inquire of the Oracle, what it might portend to the Commonwealth.

It would be manifeſtly to the diſadvantage of the *Britiſh* cauſe, ſhould our pretty loyaliſts profeſs an indifference in ſtate-affairs, while their diſaffected ſiſters are thus induſtrious to the prejudice of their country; and accordingly we have the ſatisfaction to find our ſhe-aſſociates are not idle upon this occaſion. It is owing to the good principles of theſe his Majeſty's fair and faithful ſubjects, that our countrywomen appear no leſs amiable in the eyes of the male-world, than they have done in former ages. For where a great number of flowers grow, the ground at a diſtance ſeems entirely covered with them, and we muſt walk into it, before we can diſtinguiſh the ſeveral weeds that ſpring up in ſuch a beautiful maſs of colours. Our great concern is, to find that deformity can

ariſe

ariſe among ſo many charms, and that the moſt lovely parts of the creation can make themſelves the moſt diſagreeable. But it is an obſervation of the Philoſophers, that the beſt things may be corrupted into the worſt; and the ancients did not ſcruple to affirm, that the Furies and the Graces were of the ſame Sex.

As I ſhould do the nation and themſelves good ſervice, if I could draw the Ladies, who ſtill hold out againſt his Majeſty, into the intereſt of our preſent eſtabliſhment, I ſhall propoſe to their ſerious conſideration the ſeveral inconveniencies which thoſe among them undergo, who have not yet ſurrendered to the government.

They ſhould firſt reflect on the great ſufferings and perſecutions to which they expoſe themſelves by the obſtinacy of their behaviour. They loſe their elections in every club where they are ſet up for Toſts. They are obliged by their principles to ſtick a patch on the moſt unbecoming ſide of their foreheads. They forego the advantage of birth-day ſuits. They are inſulted by the loyalty of claps and hiſſes every time they appear at a play. They receive no benefit from the army, and are never the better for all the young fellows that wear hats and feathers. They are forced to live in the country and feed their chickens; at the ſame time that they might ſhew themſelves at Court, and appear in brocade, if they behaved themſelves well. In ſhort, what muſt go to the heart of every fine woman, they throw themſelves quite out of the faſhion.

The above-mentioned motive muſt have an influence upon the gay part of the Sex; and as for thoſe who are acted by more ſublime and

moral principles, they ſhould conſider, that they cannot ſignalize themſelves as malecontents, without breaking through all the amiable inſtincts and ſofter virtues, which are peculiarly ornamental to womankind. Their timorous, gentle, modeſt behaviour; their affability, meekneſs, good-breeding, and many other beautiful diſpoſitions of mind, muſt be ſacrificed to a blind and furious zeal for they do not know what. A man is ſtartled when he ſees a pretty boſom having with ſuch party-rage, as is diſagreeable, even in that Sex which is of a more coarſe and rugged make. And yet ſuch is our misfortune, that we ſometimes ſee a pair of ſtays ready to burſt with ſedition; and hear the moſt maſculine paſſions expreſt in the ſweeteſt voices. I have lately been told of a country-gentlewoman pretty much famed for this virility of behaviour in party-diſputes, who, upon venting her notions very freely in a ſtrange place, was carried before an honeſt Juſtice of peace. This prudent Magiſtrate obſerving her to be a large black woman, and finding by her diſcourſe that ſhe was no better than a rebel in her riding-hood, began to ſuſpect her for my Lord *Nithſdale*; until a ſtranger came to her reſcue, who aſſured him, with tears in his eyes, that he was her huſband.

In the next place, our *Britiſh* Ladies may conſider, that, by intereſting themſelves ſo zealouſly in the affairs of the publick, they are engaged, without any neceſſity, in the crimes which are often committed even by the beſt of parties, and which they are naturally exempted from by the privilege of their Sex. The worſt character a female could formerly arrive at, was of being an ill woman; but by their preſent conduct, ſhe

ſhe may likewiſe deſerve the character of an ill ſubject. They come in for their ſhare of political guilt, and have found a way to make themſelves much greater criminals, than their mothers before them.

I have great hopes that theſe motives, when they are aſſiſted by their own reflexions, will incline the fair ones of the adverſe party to come over to the national intereſt, in which their own is ſo highly concerned; eſpecially, if they conſider, that by theſe ſuperfluous employments, which they take upon them as partiſans, they do not only dip themſelves in an unneceſſary guilt, but are obnoxious to a grief and anguiſh of mind, which doth not properly fall within their lot. And here I would adviſe every one of theſe exaſperated Ladies, who indulges that opprobrious eloquence which is ſo much in faſhion, to reflect on *Æſop*'s fable of the viper. 'This little animal,' ſays the old moraliſt, 'chancing to meet with a file, began 'to lick it with her tongue until the blood came; 'which gave her a very ſilly ſatisfaction, as im-'agining the blood came from the file, notwith-'ſtanding all the ſmart was in her own tongue.'

N°27 Friday, March 23.

———*Dii viſa ſecundent.*

Luc. lib. 1. ver. 630.

Proſper the viſion, heav'n!

IT is an old obſervation, that a time of peace is always a time of Prodigies; for as our news-writers muſt adorn their papers with that which the criticks call The marvellous, they are forced, in a dead calm of affairs, to ranſack every element for proper amuſements, and either to aſtoniſh their readers from time to time with a ſtrange and wonderful ſight, or be content to loſe their cuſtom. The ſea is generally filled with monſters when there are no fleets upon it. Mount *Ætna* immediately began to rage upon the extinction of the rebellion: And wo to the people of *Catanea*, if the peace continues; for they are ſure to be ſhaken every week with earthquakes, until they are relieved by the ſiege of ſome other great town in *Europe*. The air has likewiſe contributed its quota of Prodigies. We had a blazing ſtar by the laſt mail from *Genoa*; and in the preſent dearth of battles have been very opportunely entertained, by perſons of undoubted credit, with a civil war in the clouds, where our ſharp-ſighted malecontents diſcovered many objects inviſible to an eye that is dimmed by Whig-principles.

I queſtion not but this paper will fall in with the preſent humour, ſince it contains a very remark-

remarkable viſion of a *Highland* Seer, who is famous among the mountains, and known by the name of *Second-Sighted Sawney*. Had he been able to write, we might probably have ſeen this viſion ſooner in print; for it happened to him very early in the late hard winter; and is tranſmitted to me by a ſtudent of *Glaſgow*, who took the whole relation from him, and ſtuck cloſe to the facts, though he has delivered them in his own ſtile.

Sawney was deſcended of an ancient family, very much renowned for their ſkill in prognoſticks. Moſt of his anceſtors were ſecond-ſighted, and his mother but narrowly eſcaped being burnt for a witch. As he was going out one morning very early to ſteal a ſheep, he was ſeized on the ſudden with a fit of ſecond-ſight. The face of the whole country about him was changed in the twinkling of an eye, and preſented him with a wide proſpect of new ſcenes and objects, which he had never ſeen until that day.

He diſcovered at a great diſtance from him a large fabrick, which caſt ſuch a glittering light about it, that it looked like a huge rock of diamond. Upon the top of it was planted a ſtandard, ſtreaming in a ſtrong northern wind, and embroidered with a mixture of thiſtles and flower-de-luces. As he was amuſing himſelf with this ſtrange ſight, he heard a bagpipe at ſome diſtance behind him, and, turning about, ſaw a General, who ſeemed very much animated with the ſound of it, marching towards him at the head of a numerous army. He learnt, upon enquiry, that they were making a proceſſion to the ſtructure which ſtood before him, and which

he found was the Temple of Rebellion. He immediately ſtruck in with them; but deſcribed this march to the temple with ſo much horror, that he ſhivered every joint all the while he ſpoke of it. They were forced to clamber over ſo many rocks, and to tread upon the brink of ſo many precipices, that they were very often in danger of their lives. *Sawney* declared, that, for his own part, he walked in fear of his neck every ſtep he took. Upon their coming within a few furlongs of the temple, they paſſed through a very thick grove, conſecrated to a deity, who was known by the name of Treaſon. They here diſperſed themſelves into abundance of labyrinths and covered walks which led to the temple. The path was ſo very ſlippery, the ſhade ſo exceeding gloomy, and the whole wood ſo full of echoes, that they were forced to march with the greateſt warineſs, circumſpection and ſilence. They at length arrived at a great gate, which was the principal avenue to that magnificent fabrick. *Sawney* ſtood ſome time at the entrance to obſerve the ſplendor of the building, and was not a little entertained with a prodigious number of ſtatues, which were planted up and down in a ſpacious court that lay before it; but upon examining it more nicely, he found the whole fabrick, which made ſuch a glittering appearance, and ſeemed impregnable, was compoſed of ice, and that the ſeveral ſtatues, which ſeemed at a diſtance to be made of the whiteſt marble, were nothing elſe but ſo many figures in ſnow. The front of the temple was very curiouſly adorned with ſtars and garters, ducal coronets, generals ſtaffs, and many other emblems of honour wrought in the moſt beautiful froſt-work. After having ſtood at gaze ſome time before this great

gate,

gate, he diſcovered on it an inſcription, ſignifying it to be the Gate of Perjury. There was erected near it a great Coloſſus in ſnow that had two faces, and was dreſſed like a Jeſuit, with one of its hands upon a book, and the other graſping a dagger. Upon entering into the court, he took a particular ſurvey of ſeveral of the figures. There was Sedition with a trumpet in her hand, and Rapine in the garb of a Highlander: Ambition, Envy, Diſgrace, Poverty, and Diſappointment, were all of them repreſented under their proper emblems. Among other ſtatues, he obſerved that of Rumour whiſpering an Idiot in the ear, who was the repreſentative of Credulity; and Faſhion embracing with her hundred arms an old-faſhioned figure in a ſteeple-crowned hat, that was deſigned to expreſs a cunning old gipſy, called Paſſive-Obedience. Zeal too had a place among the reſt, with a bandage over her eyes, though one would not have expected to have ſeen her repreſented in ſnow. But the moſt remarkable object in this court-yard was a huge tree that grew up before the porch of the Temple, and was of the ſame kind with that, which *Virgil* tells us flouriſhed at the entrance of the infernal regions. For it bore nothing but dreams, which hung in cluſters under every leaf of it. The travellers refreſhed themſelves in the ſhade of this tree before they entered the Temple of Rebellion, and, after their frights and fatigues, received great comfort in the fruit which fell from it. At length the gates of the Temple flew open, and the crowd ruſhed into it. In the centre of it was a grim idol, with a ſword in the right hand, and a firebrand in the left. The fore-part of the pedeſtal was

curiouſly emboſſed with a triumph, while the back-part, that lay more out of ſight, was filled with gibbets and axes. This dreadful idol is worſhipped, like ſeveral of old, with human ſacrifices, and his votaries were conſulting among themſelves, how to gratify him with hecatombs; when on a ſudden they were ſurpriſed with the alarm of a great light which appeared in the ſouthern part of the heavens, and made its progreſs directly towards them. This light appeared as a great maſs of flame, or rather glory, like that of the ſun in its ſtrength. There were three figures in the midſt of it, who were known, by their ſeveral hieroglyphicks, to be Religion, Loyalty, and Valour. The laſt had a graceful air, a blooming countenance, and a ſtar upon its breaſt, which ſhot forth ſeveral pointed beams of a peculiar luſtre. The glory which encompaſſed them covered the place, and darted its rays with ſo much ſtrength, that the whole fabrick and all its ornaments began to melt. The ſeveral emblems of honour, which were wrought on the front in the brittle materials above-mentioned, trickled away under the firſt impreſſions of the heat. In ſhort, the thaw was ſo violent, that the Temple and Statues ran off in a ſudden torrent, and the whole winter-piece was diſſolved. The covered walks were laid open by the light which ſhone through every part of them, and the dream-tree withered like the famous gourd, that was ſmitten by the noon-day ſun. As for the votaries, they left the place with the greateſt precipitation, and diſperſed themſelves by flight into a thouſand different paths among the mountains.

Monday,

N°28 Monday, March 26.

———*Incendia lumen*
Præbebant; aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo.
Ovid. Met. lib. 2. ver. 331.

The burning ruins, with a fainter ray,
Supply the sun, and counterfeit a day.
ADDISON.

SIR *Francis Bacon*, in the dedication before his history of *Henry* the Seventh, observes, that peaceable times are the best to live in, though not so proper to furnish materials for a writer: As hilly countries afford the most entertaining prospects, though a man would choose to travel through a plain one. To this we may add, that the times, which are full of disorders and tumults, are likewise the fullest of instructions. History indeed furnishes us with very distinct accounts of factions, conspiracies, civil wars and rebellions, with the fatal consequences that attend them: But they do not make such deep and lasting impressions on our minds, as events of the same nature, to which we have ourselves been witnesses, and in which we or our friends and acquaintance have been sufferers. As adversity makes a man wise in his private affairs, civil calamities give him prudence and circumspection in his publick conduct.

The miseries of the civil war under the reign of King *Charles* the First, and the consequences which ensued upon them, did, for many years,

deter the inhabitants of our island from the thoughts of engaging anew in such desperate undertakings; and convinced them by fatal experience, that nothing could be so pernicious to the *English*, and so opposite to the genius of the people, as the subversion of monarchy. In the like manner we may hope that the great expences brought upon the nation by the present Rebellion; the sufferings of innocent people, who have lived in that place, which was the scene of it; with that dreadful prospect of ruin and confusion which must have followed its success; will secure us from the like attempts for the future, and fix his Majesty upon the throne of *Great-Britain*; especially, when those who are prompted to such wicked practices reflect upon the punishments to which the criminals have exposed themselves, and the miseries in which they have involved their relations, friends, and families.

It will be likewise worth their while to consider, how such tumults and riots, as have been encouraged by many, who, we may hope, did not propose to themselves such fatal consequences, lead to a civil war: and how naturally that seditious kind of conversation, which many seem to think consistent with their religion and morality, ends in an open Rebellion. I question not but the more virtuous and considerate part of our malecontents are now stung with a very just remorse for this their manner of proceeding, which has so visibly tended to the destruction of their friends, and the sufferings of their country. This may, at the same time, prove an instructive lesson to the boldest and bravest among the disaffected, not to build any hopes upon the talkative zealots of their party; who have shewn by their whole behaviour, that their hearts are equally filled with

treason

treaſon and cowardiſe. An army of trumpeters would give as great a ſtrength to a cauſe, as this confederacy of tongue-warriors; who, like thoſe military muſicians, content themſelves with animating their friends to battle, and run out of the engagement upon the firſt onſet.

But one of the moſt uſeful maxims we can learn from the preſent Rebellion, is, that nothing can be more contemptible and inſignificant, than the ſcum of a people, when they are inſtigated againſt a King, who is ſupported by the two branches of the Legiſlature. A man may pull down a meeting-houſe, but will never be able to overturn a government, which has a courageous and wiſe Prince at the head of it, and one who is zealouſly aſſiſted by the great council of the nation, that beſt know the value of him. The authority of the Lords and Commons of *Great-Britain*, in conjunction with that of their Sovereign, is not to be controlled by a tumultuary rabble. It is big with fleets and armies, can fortify itſelf with what laws it ſhall judge proper for its own defence, can command the wealth of the Kingdom for the ſecurity of the people, and engage the whole Proteſtant intereſt of *Europe* in ſo good and juſt a cauſe. A diſorderly multitude, contending with the body of the Legiſlature, is like a man in a fit under the conduct of one in the fulneſs of his health and ſtrength. Such a one is ſure to be over-ruled in a little time, though he deals about his blows, and exerts himſelf in the moſt furious convulſions, while the diſtemper is upon him.

We may farther learn from the courſe of the preſent Rebellion, who among the foreign ſtates in our neighbourhood are the true and natural friends of *Great-Britain*, if we obſerve which

of

of them gave us their assistance in reducing our country to a state of peace and tranquillity, and which of them used their endeavours to heighten our confusions, and plunge us into all the evils of a civil war. I shall only take notice under this head, that in former ages it was the constant policy of *France* to raise and cherish intestine feuds and discords in the isle of *Great-Britain*, that we might either fall a prey into their hands, or that they might prosecute their designs upon the continent with less interruption. Innumerable instances of this nature occur in history. The most remarkable one was that in the reign of King *Charles* the First. Though that Prince was married to a daughter of *France*, and was personally beloved and esteemed in the *French* court, it is well known that they abetted both parties in the civil war, and always furnished supplies to the weaker side, lest there should be an end put to those fatal divisions.

We might also observe, that this Rebellion has been a means of discovering to his Majesty, how much he may depend upon the professions and principles of the several parties among his own subjects; who are those persons that have espoused his interests with zeal or indifference; and who among them are influenced to their allegiance by places, duty, or affection. But as these, and several other considerations, are obvious to the thoughts of every reader, I shall conclude, with observing how naturally many of those, who distinguish themselves by the name of the High-Church, unite themselves to the cause of Popery; since it is manifest, that all the Protestants concerned in the Rebellion were such as gloried in this distinction.

It would be very unjuſt, to charge all who have ranged themſelves under this new denomination, as if they had done it with a deſign to favour the intereſts of popery. But it is certain that many of them, who at their firſt ſetting out were moſt averſe to the doctrines of the church of *Rome*, have by the cunning of our adverſaries been inſpired with ſuch an unreaſonable averſion to their proteſtant brethren, and taught to think ſo favourably of the *Roman-Catholick* principles, (not to mention the endeavours that have been uſed to reconcile the doctrines of the two churches, which are in themſelves as oppoſite as light and darkneſs) that they have been drawn over inſenſibly into its intereſts. It is no wonder therefore, that ſo many of theſe deluded zealots have been engaged in a cauſe which they at firſt abhorred, and have wiſhed or acted for the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe, that might have ended in the extirpation of the Proteſtant religion, in this Kingdom, and in all *Europe*. In ſhort, they are like the *Syrians*, who were firſt ſmitten with blindneſs, and unknowingly led out of their way into the capital of their enemy's country; inſomuch, that the text tells us, 'when they opened 'their eyes, they found themſelves in the midſt 'of *Samaria*.'

N°29 Friday, March 30, 1716.

Dîs te minorem quòd geris, imperas.
Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
Dî multa neglecti dederunt
Heſperiæ mala luctuoſæ.

Hor. Od. 6. l. 3. ver. 5.

Propitious heav'n, that rais'd your fathers high,
For humble, grateful, piety,
(As it rewarded their reſpect)
Hath ſharply puniſh'd your neglect:
All empires on the gods depend;
Begun by their command, at their command they end.

ROSCOMMON.

THIS being the day in which the thoughts of our countrymen are, or ought to be, employed on ſerious ſubjects, I ſhall take the opportunity of that diſpoſition of mind in my Readers, to recommend to them the practice of thoſe religious and moral virtues, without which all policy is vain, and the beſt cauſe deprived of its greateſt ornament and ſupport.

Common ſenſe, as well as the experience of all ages, teaches us, that no Government can flouriſh which doth not encourage and propagate religion and morality among all its particular members. It was an obſervation of the ancient *Romans*, that their Empire had not more increaſed by the ſtrength of their arms, than by the ſanctity of their manners: And *Cicero*, who ſeems to have been better verſed than any of them, both in the theory

theory and the practice of politicks, makes it a doubt whether it were poſſible for a community to exiſt that had not a prevailing mixture of piety in its conſtitution. Juſtice, temperance, humility, and almoſt every other moral virtue, do not only derive the bleſſings of Providence upon thoſe who exerciſe them, but are the natural means for acquiring the publick proſperity. Beſides; religious motives and inſtincts are ſo buſy in the heart of every reaſonable creature, that a man who would hope to govern a ſociety, without any regard to theſe principles, is as much to be contemned for his folly, as to be deteſted for his impiety.

To this we may add, that the world is never ſunk into ſuch a ſtate of degeneracy, but they pay a natural veneration to men of virtue; and rejoice to ſee themſelves conducted by thoſe, who act under the awe of a ſupreme Being, and who think themſelves accountable for all their proceedings to the great judge and ſuperintendent of human affairs.

Thoſe of our fellow-ſubjects, who are ſenſible of the happineſs they enjoy in his Majeſty's acceſſion to the throne, are obliged, by all the duties of gratitude, to adore that Providence which has ſo ſignally interpoſed in our behalf, by clearing a way to the proteſtant ſucceſſion through ſuch difficulties as ſeemed inſuperable; by detecting the conſpiracies which have been formed againſt it; and, by many wonderful events, weakening the hands and baffling the attempts of all his Majeſty's enemies, both foreign and domeſtick.

The party, who diſtinguiſh themſelves by their zeal for the preſent eſtabliſhment, ſhould be careful, in a particular manner, to diſcover in their whole

whole conduct such a reverence for religion, as may shew how groundless that reproach is, which is cast upon them by their enemies, of being averse to our national worship. While others engross to themselves the name of the Church, and, in a manner, excommunicate the best part of their fellow-subjects; let us shew ourselves the genuine sons of it, by practising the doctrines which it teaches. The advantage will be visibly on our side, if we stick to its essentials; while they triumph in that empty denomination which they bestow upon themselves. Too many of them are already dipt in the guilt of perjury and sedition; and as we remain unblemished in these particulars, let us endeavour to excel them in all the other parts of religion, and we shall quickly find, that a regular morality is, in its own nature, more popular as well as more meritorious, than an intemperate zeal.

We have likewise, in the present times of confusion and disorder, an opportunity of shewing our abhorrence of several principles which have been ascribed to us by the malice of our enemies. A disaffection to Kings and kingly Government, with a proneness to rebellion, have been often very unjustly charged on that party which goes by the name of Whigs. Our steady and continued adherence to his Majesty, and the present happy settlement, will the most effectually confute this calumny. Our adversaries, who know very well how odious commonwealth-principles are to the *English* nation, have inverted the very sense of words and things, rather than not continue to brand us with this imaginary guilt: For with some of these men, at present, Loyalty to our King is republicanism, and Rebellion passive obedience.

It

It has been an old objection to the principles of the Whigs, that ſeveral of their leaders, who have been zealous for redreſſing the grievances of government, have not behaved themſelves better than the Tories in domeſtick ſcenes of life: But at the ſame time have been publick patriots and private oppreſſors. This objection, were it true, has no weight in it, ſince the miſbehaviour of particular perſons does not at all affect their cauſe, and ſince a man may act laudably in ſome reſpects who does not ſo in others. However, it were to be wiſhed, that men would not give occaſion even to ſuch invectives; but at the ſame time they conſult the happineſs of the whole, that they would promote it to their utmoſt in all their private dealings among thoſe who lie more immediately within their influence. In the mean while I muſt obſerve, that this reproach, which may be often met with both in print and converſation, tends in reality to the honour of the Whigs, as it ſuppoſes that a greater regard to juſtice and humanity is to be expected from them than from thoſe of the oppoſite party: And it is certain we cannot better recommend our principles, than by ſuch actions as are their natural and genuine fruits.

Were we thus careful to guard ourſelves in a particular manner againſt theſe groundleſs imputations of our enemies; and to riſe above them as much in our morality as in our politicks, our cauſe would be always as flouriſhing as it is juſt. It is certain, that our notions have a more natural tendency to ſuch a practice, as we eſpouſe the proteſtant intereſt in oppoſition to that of popery, which is ſo far from advancing morality by its doctrines, that it has weakened, or entirely ſubverted, many of the duties even of natural religion.

I ſhall

I ſhall conclude, with recommending one virtue more to the friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment, wherein the Whigs have been remarkably deficient; which is a general unanimity and concurrence in the purſuit of ſuch meaſures as are neceſſary for the well-being of their country. As it is a laudable freedom of thought which unſhackles their minds from the poor and narrow prejudices of education, and opens their eyes to a more extenſive view of the publick good; the ſame freedom of thought diſpoſes ſeveral of them to the embracing of particular ſchemes and maxims, and to a certain ſingularity of opinion which proves highly prejudicial to their cauſe; eſpecially when they are encouraged in them by a vain breath of popularity, or by the artificial praiſes which are beſtowed on them by the oppoſite party. This temper of mind, though the effect of a noble principle, very often betrays their friends, and brings into power the moſt pernicious and implacable of their enemies. In caſes of this nature, it is the duty of an honeſt and prudent man, to ſacrifice a doubtful opinion to the concurring judgment of thoſe whom he believes to be well intentioned to their country, and who have better opportunities of looking into all its moſt complicated intereſts. An honeſt party of men, acting with unanimity, are of infinitely greater conſequence than the ſame party aiming at the ſame end by different views: As a large diamond is of a thouſand times greater value while it remains entire, than when it is cut into a multitude of ſmaller ſtones, notwithſtanding they may, each of them, be very curiouſly ſet, and are all of the ſame water.

Monday,

N°30 Monday, April 2.

—— *I, verbis virtutem illude ſuperbis.*
Virg. Æn. 9. ver. 634.

Go now, vain boaſter, and true valour ſcorn.
DRYDEN.

AS I was ſome years ago engaged in converſation with a faſhionable *French abbé* upon a ſubject which the people of that Kingdom love to ſtart in diſcourſe, the comparative greatneſs of the two nations; he asked me, 'How many 'ſouls I thought there might be in *London?*' I replied, being willing to do my country all the honour I fairly could, that there were ſeveral who computed them at near a million: but not finding that ſurpriſe I expected in his countenance, I returned the queſtion upon him, how many he thought there might be in *Paris?* To which he anſwered with a certain grimace of coldneſs and indifference, 'About ten or twelve millions.'

It would, indeed, be incredible to a man who has never been in *France*, ſhould one relate the extravagant notion they entertain of themſelves, and the mean opinion they have of their neighbours. There are certainly (notwithſtanding the viſible decay of learning and taſte which has appeared among them of late years) many particular perſons in that country, who are eminent in the higheſt degree for their good-ſenſe, as well as for their knowledge in all the arts and ſciences.

But

But I believe every one, who is acquainted with them, will allow, that the people in general fall far ſhort of thoſe, who border upon them, in ſtrength and ſolidity of underſtanding. One would therefore no more wonder to ſee the moſt ſhallow nation of *Europe* the moſt vain, than to find the moſt empty fellows in every diſtinct nation more conceited and cenſorious than the reſt of their countrymen. Prejudice and ſelf-ſufficiency naturally proceed from inexperience of the world, and ignorance of mankind. As it requires but very ſmall abilities to diſcover the imperfections of another, we find that none are more apt to turn their neighbours into ridicule, than thoſe who are the moſt ridiculous in their own private conduct.

Thoſe among the *French*, who have ſeen nothing but their own country, can ſcarce bring themſelves to believe, that a nation, which lies never ſo little north of them, is not full of *Goths* and *Vandals*. Nay, thoſe among them who travel into foreign parts are ſo prejudiced in favour of their own imaginary politeneſs, that they are apt to look upon every thing as barbarous in proportion as it deviates from what they find at home. No leſs a man than an ambaſſador of *France*, being in converſation with our King of glorious memory, and willing to encourage his Majeſty, told him, that he talked like a *Frenchman*. The King ſmiled at the encomium which was given him, and only replied, 'Sir, I am ſure you 'do.' An eminent writer of the laſt age was ſo offended at this kind of inſolence, which ſhewed itſelf very plentifully in one of their travellers who gave an account of *England*, that he vindicated the honour of his country in a book full of juſt ſatire and ingenuity. I need not acquaint

quaint my Reader, that I mean Biſhop *Sprat*'s anſwer to *Sorbiere*.

Since I am upon this head, I cannot forbear mentioning ſome profound remarks that I have been lately ſhewn in a *French* book, the author of which lived, it ſeems, ſometime in *England*. The *Engliſh*, ſays this curious Traveller, 'very 'much delight in Pudding. This is the favou-'rite diſh not only of the clergy, but of the 'people in general. Provided there be a Pudding 'upon the table, no matter what are the other 'diſhes; they are ſure to make a feaſt. They 'think themſelves ſo happy when they have a 'Pudding before them, that if any would tell a 'friend he is arrived in a lucky juncture, the 'ordinary ſalutation is, Sir, I am glad to ſee you, 'you are come in Pudding-time.'

One cannot have the heart to be angry at this judicious obſerver, notwithſtanding he has treated us like a race of *Hottentots*, becauſe he only taxes us with our inordinate love of pudding, which it muſt be confeſſed, is not ſo elegant a diſh as frog and ſallet. Every one, who has been at *Paris*, knows that *Un gros Milord Anglois* is a frequent jeſt upon the *French* ſtage; as if corpulence was a proper ſubject for ſatire, or a man of honour could help his being fat, who eats ſuitable to his quality.

It would be endleſs to recount the invectives which are to be met with among the *French* hiſtorians, and even in *Mezeray* himſelf, againſt the manners of our countrymen. Their authors in other kinds of writing are likewiſe very liberal in characters of the ſame nature. I cannot forbear mentioning the learned Monſieur *Patin* in particular; who tells us in ſo many words, 'That the *Engliſh* are a people, whom

'he

'he naturally abhors:' And in another place, 'That he looks upon the *Engliſh* among the ſe-'veral nations of men, as he does upon wolves 'among the ſeveral ſpecies of beaſts.' A *Britiſh* Writer would be very juſtly charged with want of politeneſs, who, in return to this civility, ſhould look upon the *French* as that part of mankind which anſwers to a ſpecies in the brute creation, whom we call in *Engliſh* by the name of monkies.

If the *French* load us with theſe indignities, we may obſerve, for our comfort, that they give the reſt of their borderers no better quarter. If we are a dull, heavy, phlegmatick people, we are it ſeems no worſe than our neighbours. As an inſtance, I ſhall ſet down at large a remarkable paſſage in a famous book intitled *Chevræana*, written many years ago by the celebrated Monſieur *Chevreau*; after having adverti ſed my Reader that the Ducheſs of *Hanover*, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* of *Bohemia*, who are mentioned in it, were the late excellent Princeſs *Sophia* and her Siſter.

Tilenus pour un Allemand parle & ecrit bien François, *dit Scaliger:* Gretzer a bien de l'eſprit pour un Allemand, *dit le Cardinal du Perron: Et le P. Bouhours met en queſtion*, Si un Allemand peut être bel eſprit? *On ne doit juger ni bien ni mal d'une nation par un particulier, ni d'un particulier par ſa nation. Il y a des Allemands comme des François, qui n'ont point d'eſprit; des Allemands, qui on ſceû plus d'Hebreu, plus de Grec, que Scaliger & le Cardinal du Perron: J'honore fort le P. Bouhours, qui a du merite; mais j'oſe dire, que la France n'a point de plus bel eſprit que* Madame la Ducheſſe de Hanovre d'aujourd'hui, *ni de perſonne plus de ſolidement ſavante en philoſophie que*

l'étoit

l'étoit Madame la Princeſſe Elizabeth de Boheme, ſa ſœur: *Et je ne crois pas que l'on refuſe le méme titre à beaucoup d' Academiciens d' Allemagne dont les ouvrages meriteroient bien d' être traduits. Il y a d' autres Princeſſes en Allemagne, qui ont infiniment de l' eſprit. Les François diſent* c'eſt un Allemand, *pour exprimer un homme peſant, brutal: & les Allemands, comme les Italiens,* c'eſt un François, *pour dire un fou & un etourdi. C'eſt aller trop loin: comme le Prince de* Salé *dit de* Ruyter, Il eſt honnête homme, c'eſt bien dommage qu'il ſoit chrétien. *Chevræana*, Tom. I.

" *Tilenus*, ſays *Scaliger*, ſpeaks and writes well " for a *German*. *Gretzer* has a great deal of " wit for a *German*, ſays Cardinal *Perron*. And " father *Bouhours* makes it a queſtion, whether " a *German* can be a wit? One ought not to " judge well or ill of a nation from a particular " perſon, nor of a particular perſon from his " nation. There are *Germans*, as there are " *French*, who have no wit; and *Germans* who " are better ſkilled in *Greek* and *Hebrew* than " either *Scaliger* or the Cardinal *du Perron*. I " have a great honour for father *Bouhours*, who " is a man of merit; but will be bold to ſay, " that there is not in all *France* a perſon of more " wit than the preſent Ducheſs of *Hanover*; " nor more thoroughly knowing in philoſophy, " than was the late Princeſs *Elizabeth* of *Bohe-* " *mia* her ſiſter; and I believe none can refuſe " the ſame title to many academicians in *Ger-* " *many*, whoſe works very well deſerve to be " tranſlated into our tongue. There are other " Princeſſes in *Germany*, who have alſo an in- " finite deal of wit. The *French* ſay of a man, " that he is a *German*, when they would ſignify " that he is dull and heavy; and the *Germans*,

" as

" as well as the *Italians*, when they would call " a man a hair-brained coxcomb, ſay he is a " *Frenchman*. This is going too far, and is like " the Governor of *Sallee*'s ſaying of *De Ruyter* " the *Dutch* Admiral," ' He is an honeſt man, ' it is great pity he is a Chriſtian.'

Having already run my Paper out to its uſual length, I have not room for many reflexions on that which is the ſubject of it. The laſt cited Author has been beforehand with me in its proper moral. I ſhall only add to it, that there has been an unaccountable diſpoſition among the *Engliſh* of late years, to fetch the faſhion from the *French*, not only in their dreſs and behaviour, but even in their judgments and opinions of mankind. It will however be reaſonable for us, if we concur with them in their contempt of other neighbouring nations, that we ſhould likewiſe regard ourſelves under the ſame view in which they are wont to place us. The repreſentations they make of us, are as of a nation the leaſt favoured by them; and, as theſe are agreeable to the natural averſion they have for us, are more diſadvantageous than the pictures they have drawn of any other people in *Europe*.

Friday,

N°31 Friday, April 6.

Omnes homines, P. C. qui de rebus dubiis conſultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira, atque miſericordia vacuos eſſe decet. Saluſt. Bell. Catil. 51.

In conſidering matters of doubt and uncertainty, we ſhould lay aſide prejudice, partiality, anger, and pity.

I HAVE purpoſely avoided, during the whole courſe of this Paper, to ſpeak any thing concerning the treatment which is due to ſuch perſons as have been concerned in the late rebellion, becauſe I would not ſeem to irritate juſtice againſt thoſe who are under the proſecution of the law, nor incenſe any of my Readers againſt unhappy though guilty men. But when we find the proceedings of our Government in this particular traduced and miſrepreſented, it is the duty of every good ſubject to ſet them in their proper light.

I am the more prompted to this undertaking by a pamphlet intitled, 'An argument to prove 'the affections of the people of *England* to be 'the beſt ſecurity of the Government; humbly 'offered to the conſideration of the patrons of 'ſeverity, and applied to the preſent juncture of 'affairs.' Had the whole ſcope of the Author been anſwerable to his title, he would have only undertaken to prove what every man in his wits is already convinced of. But the drift of the pamphlet is to ſtir up our compaſſion towards the

Rebels, and our indignation againſt the Government. The Author, who knew that ſuch a deſign as this could not be carried on without a great deal of artifice and ſophiſtry, has puzzled and perplexed his cauſe, by throwing his thoughts together in ſuch a ſtudied confuſion, that upon this account, if upon any, his pamphlet is, as the party have repreſented it, unanſwerable.

The famous Monſieur *Bayle* compares the anſwering of an immethodical Author to the hunting of a duck: When you have him full in your ſight, and fancy yourſelf within reach of him, he gives you the ſlip, and becomes inviſible. His argument is loſt in ſuch a variety of matter, that you muſt catch it where you can, as it riſes and diſappears in the ſeveral parts of his diſcourſe.

The Writer of this pamphlet could, doubtleſs, have ranged his thoughts in much better order, if he had pleaſed; but he knew very well, that error is not to be advanced by perſpicuity. In order therefore to anſwer this pamphlet, I muſt reduce the ſubſtance of it under proper heads; and diſembroil the thoughts of the Author, ſince he did not think fit to do it himſelf.

In the firſt place I ſhall obſerve, that the terms which the Author makes uſe of are looſe, general, and undefined, as will be ſhewn in the ſequel of this Paper; and what leſs becomes a fair reaſoner, he puts wrong and invidious names on every thing to colour a falſe way of arguing. He allows that 'The Rebels indiſputably merit 'to be ſeverely chaſtiſed; that they deſerve it ac-'cording to law; and that, if they are puniſhed, 'they have none to thank but themſelves.' (p. 7.) How can a man after ſuch a conceſſion make uſe ſometimes of the word *Cruelty*, but generally of *Revenge*, when he pleads againſt the exerciſe

exercise of what, according to his own notion, is at the most but rigid justice! or why are such executions, which, according to his own opinion, are legal, so often to be called Violences and Slaughters? Not to mention the appellations given to those who do not agree with him in his opinion for clemency, as the Bloodthirsty, the Political Butchers, State Chirurgeons and the like.

But I shall now speak of that point, which is the great and reigning fallacy of the pamphlet, and runs more or less through every paragraph. His whole argument turns upon this single consideration; Whether the King should exert mercy or justice towards those who have openly appeared in the present Rebellion? by mercy he means a general pardon, by justice a general punishment: So that he supposes no other method practicable in this juncture, than either the forgiving all, or the executing all. Thus he puts the question, 'Whether it be the interest of the 'Prince to destroy the Rebels by fire, sword, or 'gibbet?' (p. 4.) And speaking of the zealots for the Government, he tells us, 'They think 'no remedy so good, as to make clear work; 'and that they declare for the utter extirpation 'of all who are its enemies in the most minute 'circumstance: As if amputation were the sole 'remedy these political butchers could find out for 'the distempers of a state; or that they thought 'the only way to make the top flourish were to lop 'off the under branches.' (p. 5.) He then speaks of the Coffee-house Politicians, and the Casuists in red-coats; 'Who, he tells us, are for the 'utmost rigour, that their laws of war or laws 'of convenience can inspire them with, (p. 5.) Again, it is represented, says he, 'That the 'Rebels deserve the highest punishment the laws

'can inflict,' (p. 7.) And afterwards tells us, 'The queſtion is, whether the Government ſhall 'ſhew mercy, or take a reverend Divine's advice, 'to ſlay man and woman, infant and ſuckling?' (p. 8.) Thus again he tells us, 'The friends to 'ſevere counſels alledge, that the Government 'ought not to be moved by compaſſion; and that 'the law ſhould have its courſe.' (p. 9.) And in another place puts theſe words in their mouths, 'He may ſtill retain their affection, and yet let 'the laws have their courſe in puniſhing the 'guilty.' (p. 18.) He goes upon the ſame ſuppoſition in the following paſſages; 'It is im-'practicable in ſo general a corruption, to de-'ſtroy all who are infected; and unleſs you de-'ſtroy all you do nothing to the purpoſe, (p. 10.) 'Shall our rightful King ſhew himſelf leſs the 'true father of his people, and afford his pardon 'to none of thoſe people, who (like King *Lear* 'to his daughters) had ſo great a confidence in 'his virtue as to give him all?' (p. 25.) I ſhall only add, that the concluding paragraph, which is worked up with ſo much artificial horror, goes upon a ſuppoſition anſwerable to the whole tenor of the pamphlet; and implies, that the impeached Lords were to be executed without exception or diſcrimination.

Thus we ſee what is the Author's idea of that juſtice againſt which all his arguments are levelled. If, in the next place, we conſider the nature of that clemency which he recommends, we find it to be no leſs univerſal and unreſtrained.

He declares for a general act of indemnity, (p. 20.) and tell us, 'It is the ſenſe of every diſ-'paſſionate man of the Kingdom, that the Rebels 'may and ought to be pardoned, (p. 19.) One 'popular act, ſays he, would even yet retrieve all.

'all. (p. 21.) He delares himſelf not over-fond 'of the doctrines of making examples of traitors '(*ibid.*) And that the way to prevent things from 'being brought to an extremity, is to deal 'mildly with thoſe unfortunate gentlemen en-'gaged in the rebellion.'

The reader may now ſee in how fallacious a manner this writer has ſtated the controverſy: He ſuppoſes there are but two methods of treating the Rebels: That is by cutting off every one of them to a man, or pardoning every one of them without diſtinction. Now if there be a third method between theſe two extremes, which is on all accounts more eligible than either of them, it is certain, that the whole courſe of his argumentation comes to nothing. Every man of the plaineſt underſtanding will eaſily conclude, that in the caſe before us, as in moſt others, we ought to avoid both extremes: That to deſtroy every Rebel would be an exceſſive ſeverity, and to forgive every one of them an unreaſonable weakneſs. The proper method of proceeding is that which the Author has purpoſely omitted: namely, to temper juſtice with mercy; and, according to the different circumſtances that aggravate or alleviate the guilt of the offenders, to reſtrain the force of the laws, or to let them take their proper courſe. Puniſhments are neceſſary to ſhew there is juſtice in a Government, and pardons to ſhew there is mercy; and both together convince the people, that our conſtitution, under a good adminiſtration, does not only make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, but even, among the guilty, between ſuch as are more or leſs criminal.

This middle method, which has been always practiſed by wiſe and good governors, has

hitherto been made uſe of by our Sovereign. If, indeed a ſtranger, and one who is altogether unacquainted with his Majeſty's conduct, ſhould read this pamphlet, he would conclude, that every perſon engaged in the rebellion was to die by the Sword, the Halter, or the Ax; nay, that their friends and abettors were involved in the ſame fate. Would it be poſſible for him to imagine, that of the ſeveral thouſands openly taken in arms, and liable to death by the laws of their country, not above forty have yet ſuffered? How would he be ſurpriſed to hear, that, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's troops have been victorious in every engagement, more of his friends have loſt their lives in this rebellion, than of his traiterous ſubjects; though we add to thoſe who have died by the hand of juſtice thoſe of them who fell in battle? And yet we find a more popular compaſſion endeavoured to be raiſed for the deaths of the guilty, who have brought ſuch calamities on their country, than for the innocent who periſhed in the defence of it.

This middle method of proceeding, which has been purſued by his Majeſty, and is wilfully overlooked by the Author, beſt anſwers the ends of Government; which is to maintain the ſafety of the publick by rewards and puniſhments. It is alſo incumbent on a Governor, according to the received dictates of Religion; which inſtructs us, 'That he beareth not the 'ſword in vain; but ought to be a terror to evil-'doers, and a praiſe to them that do well.' It is likewiſe, in a particular manner, the duty of a *Britiſh* King, who obliges himſelf by his coronation-oath to execute Juſtice in Mercy, that is, to mix them in his adminiſtration, and not

to

to exerciſe either of them to the total excluſion of the other.

But if we conſider the arguments which this Author gives for clemency, from the good effects it would produce, we ſhall find, that they hold true only when applied to ſuch a mercy as ſerves rather to mitigate than exclude juſtice. The excellence of that unlimited clemency, which the Author contends for, is recommended by the following arguments.

Firſt, That it endears a Prince to his people. This he deſcants on in ſeveral parts of his book. 'Clemency will endear his perſon to the nation; 'and then they will neither have the power nor 'will to diſturb him, (p. 8.) Was there ever a 'cruel Prince, that was not hated by his ſub-'jects? (p. 42.) A merciful good-natured diſ-'poſition is of all others the moſt amiable 'quality, and in Princes always attended with 'a popular love. (p. 18.)'

It is certain, that ſuch a popular love will always riſe towards a good Prince, who exerciſes ſuch a mercy as I have before deſcribed, which is conſiſtent with the ſafety of the conſtitution, and the good of his kingdom. But if it be thrown away at random, it loſes its virtue, leſſens the eſteem and authority of a Prince, and cannot long recommend him, even to the weakeſt of his ſubjects, who will find all the effects of cruelty in ſuch an ill grounded compaſſion. It was a famous ſaying of *William Rufus*, and is quoted to his honour by hiſtorians: 'Whoſoever ſpares 'perjured men, robbers, plunderers and traitors, 'deprives all good men of their peace and quiet-'neſs, and lays a foundation of innumerable 'miſchiefs to the virtuous and innocent.'

Another argument for unlimited clemency is, that it shews a courageous temper: 'Clemency 'is likewise an argument of fearlessness; whereas 'cruelty not only betrays a weak, abject, de-'praved spirit; but also is for the most part a 'certain sign of cowardise, (p. 19.)——He had 'a truly great soul, and such will always disdain 'the coward's virtue, which is fear; and the 'consequence of it, which is revenge,' (p. 27.) This panegyrick on clemency, when it is governed by reason, is likewise very right; but it may so happen, that the putting of laws in execution against traitors to their country may be the argument of fearlessness, when our Governors are told that they dare not do it; and such methods may be made use of to extort pardons, as would make it look like cowardise to grant them. In this last case the Author should have remembred his own words, that 'then only mercy is meri-'torious when it is voluntary, and not extorted 'by the necessity of affairs,' (p. 13.) Besides, the Author should have considered that another argument which he makes use of for his clemency, are the resentments that may arise from the execution of a Rebel: An argument adapted to a cowardly, not a fearless temper. This he infers from the disposition of 'The friends, well-'wishers, or associates of the sufferers, (p. 4.) 'resentment will inflame some; in others com-'passion will, by degrees, rise into resentment. 'This will naturally beget a disposition to over-'turn what they dislike, and then there will want 'only a fair opportunity,' (p. 11.) This argument like most of the others, pleads equally for malefactors of all kinds, whom the Government can never bring to justice, without disobliging their friends, well-wishers, or associates. But, I believe

believe if the Author would converſe with any friend, well-wiſher, or aſſociate of theſe ſufferers, he would find them rather deterred from their practices by their ſufferings, than diſpoſed to riſe in a new Rebellion to revenge them. A Government muſt be in a very weak and melancholy condition, that is not armed with a ſufficient power for its own defence againſt the reſentment of its enemies, and is afraid of being overturned, if it does juſtice on thoſe who attempt it. But I am afraid the main reaſon why theſe friends, well-wiſhers and aſſociates, are againſt puniſhing any of the Rebels, is that which muſt be an argument with every wiſe Governor for doing juſtice upon ſome of them; namely, that it is a likely means to come at the bottom of this conſpiracy, and to detect thoſe who have been the private abettors of it, and who are ſtill at work in the ſame deſign, if we give credit to the ſuggeſtions of our malecontents themſelves, who labour to make us believe, that there is ſtill life in this wicked project.

I am wonderfully ſurpriſed to ſee another argument made uſe of for a general pardon, which might have been urged more properly for a general execution. The words are theſe; 'The generality will never be brought to believe, but 'that thoſe who ſuffer only for treaſon have very 'hard meaſure, nor can you with all your ſe'verity undeceive them of their error.' If the generality of the *Engliſh* have ſuch a favourable opinion of treaſon, nothing can cure them of an error ſo fatal to their country as the puniſhment of thoſe who are guilty of it. It is evident, that a general impunity would confirm them in ſuch an opinion: For the vulgar will never be brought to believe, that there is a crime where they ſee

no penalty. As it is certain no error can be more deſtructive to the very being of government than this, a proper remedy ought to be applied to it: And I would aſk this Author, whether, upon this occaſion, 'the doctrine of 'making examples of traitors' be not very ſeaſonable; though he declares himſelf 'not over-'fond of it.' The way to awaken mens minds to the ſenſe of this guilt, is to let them ſee by the ſufferings of ſome who have incurred it, how hainous a crime it is in the eye of the law.

The foregoing anſwer may be applied likewiſe to another argument of the ſame nature. 'If the faction be as numerous as is pretended; 'if the ſpirit has ſpread itſelf over the whole 'Kingdom; if it has mixed with the maſs of the 'people; then certainly all bloody meaſures 'will but whet men the more for revenge.' If juſtice inflicted on a few of the moſt flagrant criminals, with mercy extended to the multitude, may be called bloody meaſures, they are without doubt abſolutely neceſſary, in caſe the ſpirit of faction be thus ſpread among the maſs of the people; who will readily conclude, that if open Rebellion goes unpuniſhed, every degree of faction which leads to it muſt be altogether innocent.

I am come now to another argument for pardoning all the Rebels, which is, that it would inſpire them all with gratitude, and reduce them to their allegiance. 'It is truly heroick to over-'come the hearts of one's enemies; and when it 'is compaſſed, the undertaking is truly politick, '(p. 8.) He has now a fair opportunity of 'conquering more enemies by one act of cle-'mency, than the moſt ſucceſsful General will be 'able to do in many campaigns, (p. 9.) Are there

'not

'not infinite numbers who would become moſt 'dutiful upon any fair invitation, upon the leaſt 'appearance of grace? (p. 13.) Which of the 'Rebels could be ungrateful enough to reſiſt or 'abuſe goodneſs exemplified in practice, as well 'as extolled in theory?' (p. 20.) Has not his Majeſty then ſhewn the leaſt appearance of grace in that generous forgiveneſs which he has already extended to ſuch great numbers of his rebellious ſubjects, who muſt have died by the laws of their country, had not his mercy interpoſed in their behalf? But if the Author means, (as he doth through this whole pamphlet by the like expreſſions) an univerſal forgiveneſs, no unprejudiced man can be of his opinion, that it would have had this good effect. We may ſee how little the converſion of Rebels is to be depended on, when we obſerve, that ſeveral of the Leaders in this Rebellion were men who had been pardoned for practices of the ſame nature: And that moſt of thoſe, who have ſuffered, have avowed their perſeverance in their rebellious principles, when they ſpoke their minds at the place of execution, notwithſtanding their profeſſions to the contrary, while they ſolicited forgiveneſs. Beſides, were pardon extended indifferently to all, which of them would think himſelf under any particular obligation? Whereas, by that prudent diſcrimination which his Majeſty has made between the offenders of different degrees, he naturally obliges thoſe whom he has conſidered with ſo much tenderneſs, and diſtinguiſhed as the moſt proper objects of mercy. In ſhort, thoſe who are pardoned would not have known the value of grace, if none had felt the effects of juſtice.

I muſt not omit another reaſon which the Author makes uſe of againſt puniſhments; 'Be-'cauſe, he ſays, thoſe very means, or the ap-

'prehenſions

'prehenſions of them, have brought things to 'the paſs in which they are, and conſequently, 'will reduce them from bad to worſe, (p. 10.) 'And afterwards, the growth of diſſaffection is 'in a great meaſure owing to the groundleſs 'jealouſies men entertained of the preſent ad-'miniſtration, as if they were to expect no-'thing but cruelty under it.' If our Author would have ſpoken out, and have applied theſe effects to the real cauſe, he could aſcribe this change of affections among the people to nothing elſe but the change of the miniſtry: For we find that a great many perſons loſt their loyalty with their places; and that their friends have ever ſince made uſe of the moſt baſe methods to infuſe thoſe groundleſs diſcontents into the minds of the common people, which have brought ſo many of them to the brink of deſtruction, and proved ſo detrimental to their fellow ſubjects. However, this proceeding has ſhewn how dangerous it would have been for his Majeſty to have continued in their places of truſt a ſet of men, ſome of whom have ſince actually joined with the Pretender to his Crown: While others may be juſtly ſuſpected never to have been faithful to him in their hearts, or, at leaſt, whoſe principles are precarious, and viſibly conducted by their intereſt. In a word, if the removal of theſe perſons from their poſts has produced ſuch popular commotions, the continuance of them might have produced ſomething much more fatal to their King and country, and have brought about that revolution, which has now been in vain attempted. The condition of a *Britiſh* King would be very poor indeed, ſhould a party of his ſubjects threaten him with a rebellion upon his bringing malefactors to juſtice, or upon his refuſing to employ thoſe whom he dares not truſt.

I ſhall

I ſhall only mention another argument againſt the puniſhment of any of the rebels, whoſe executions he repreſents as very ſhocking to the people, becauſe they are their countrymen, (p. 12.) And again, 'The quality of the ſuffer-'ers, their alliances, their characters, their 'being *Engliſhmen*, with a thouſand other cir-'cumſtances, will contribute to breed more ill 'blood than all the ſtate-chirurgeons can poſ-'ſibly let out,' (p. 12.) The impeached Lords likewiſe, in the laſt paragraph of the pamphlet, are recommended to our pity, becauſe they are our countrymen. By this way of reaſoning, no man that is a Gentleman, or born within the three ſeas, ſhould be ſubject to capital puniſhment. Beſides, who can be guilty of rebellion, that are not our countrymen? As for the endearing name of *Engliſhman*, which he beſtows upon every one of the criminals, he ſhould conſider, that a man deſervedly cuts himſelf off from the affections as well as the privileges of that community, which he endeavours to ſubvert.

Theſe are the ſeveral arguments which appear in different forms and expreſſions through this whole pamphlet, and under which every one that is urged in it may be reduced. There is indeed another ſet of them, derived from the example and authority of great perſons, which the Author produces in favour of his own ſcheme. Theſe are *William* the Conqueror, *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, our late King *William*, King *Solomon*, and the *Pretender*. If a man were diſpoſed to draw arguments for ſeverity out of hiſtory, how many inſtances might one find of it among the greateſt Princes of every nation? But as different Princes may act very laudably by different methods

methods in different conjunctures, I cannot think this a concluſive way of reaſoning. However, let us examine this ſet of arguments, and we ſhall find them no leſs defective than thoſe above-mentioned.

'One of the greateſt of our *Engliſh* Monarchs,' ſays our Author, was *William* the Conqueror; 'and he was the greater, becauſe he put to death 'only one perſon of Quality that we read of, and 'him after repeated treacheries; yet he was a fo-'reigner, had power ſufficient, and did not want 'provocations to have been more bloody,' (p.27.) This perſon of Quality was the Earl *Waltheof*, who, being overtaken with wine, engaged in a conſpiracy againſt this Monarch, but, repenting of it the next morning, repaired to the King who was then in *Normandy*, and diſcovered the whole matter. Notwithſtanding which, he was beheaded upon the defeat of the conſpiracy, for having but thus far tampered in it. And as for the reſt of the conſpirators, who roſe in an actual rebellion, the King uſed them with the utmoſt rigour; he cut off the hands of ſome, put out the eyes of others; ſome were hanged upon gibbets, and thoſe who fared the beſt were ſent into baniſhment. There are, indeed, the moſt dreadful examples of ſeverity in this reign: Though it muſt be confeſſed, that, after the manner of thoſe times, the Nobility generally eſcaped with their lives, though multitudes of them were puniſhed with baniſhment, perpetual impriſonment, forfeitures, and other great ſeverities: While the poor people, who had been deluded by theſe their ringleaders, were executed with the utmoſt rigour. A partiality, which I believe no commoner of *England* will ever think to be either juſt or reaſonable.

The

The next instance is *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, 'who (says our Author) so handsomly expressed 'his tenderness for his people, when, at signing 'the treaty of *Vervins*, he said, that by one dash 'of his pen he had overcome more enemies, than 'he could ever be able to do with his sword.' Would not an ordinary reader think that this treaty of *Vervins* was a treaty between *Henry* the Fourth and a party of his subjects? For otherwise, how can it have a place in the present argument? But instead of that, it was a treaty between *France* and *Spain*; so that the speech expressed an equal tenderness to the *Spaniards* and *French*; as multitudes of either nation must have fallen in that war, had it continued longer. As for this King's treatment of conspirators, (though he is quoted thrice in the pamphlet as an example of clemency) you have an eminent instance of it in his behaviour to the Mareschal *de Biron*, who had been his old faithful servant, and had contributed more than any one to his advancement to the throne. This Mareschal, upon some discontent, was entered into a conspiracy against his master, and refusing to open the whole secret to the King, he was sent to the *Bastile*, and there beheaded, notwithstanding he sought for mercy with great importunities, and in the most moving manner. There are other instances in this King's reign, who notwithstanding was remarkable for his clemency, of rebels and conspirators who were hanged, beheaded, or broken alive on the wheel.

The late King *William* was not disturbed by any rebellion from those who had once submitted to him. But we know he treated the persons concerned in the assassination-plot as so horrid a conspiracy deserved. As for the saying which

this

this Author imputes to that Monarch, it being a piece of ſecret hiſtory, one doth not know when it was ſpoken, or what it alluded to, unleſs the Author had been more particular in the account of it.

The Author proceeds in the next place to no leſs an authority, than that of *Solomon:* 'Among 'all the general obſervations of the wiſeſt Princes 'we know of, I think there is none holds more 'univerſally than mercy and truth preſerve a 'King, and his throne is eſtabliſhed in mercy,' (p. 18.) If we compare the different ſayings of this wiſe King, which relate to the conduct of Princes, we cannot queſtion but that he means by this mercy that kind of it, which is conſiſtent with reaſon and government, and by which we hope to ſee his Majeſty's throne eſtabliſhed. But our Author ſhould conſider, that the ſame wiſe man has ſaid in another place, that "An "evil man ſeeketh rebellion, therefore a cruel "meſſenger ſhould be ſent againſt him." Accordingly his practice was agreeable to his proverb: No Prince having ever given a greater teſtimony of his abhorrence to undertakings of this treaſonable nature. For he diſpatched ſuch a cruel meſſenger, as is here mentioned to thoſe who had been engaged in a Rebellion many years before he himſelf was on the throne, and even to his elder brother, upon the bare ſuſpicion that he was projecting ſo wicked an enterpriſe.

How the example of the Pretender came into this argument, I am at a loſs to find out. 'The 'Pretender declared a general pardon to all: 'And ſhall our rightful King ſhew himſelf leſs 'the true father of his people, and afford his 'pardon to none,' &c. (p. 25.) The Pretender's general

general pardon was to a people who were not in his power; and had he ever reduced them under it, it was only promiſed to ſuch as immediately joined with him for the recovery of what he called his right. It was ſuch a general pardon as would have been conſiſtent with the execution of more than nine parts in ten of the kingdom.

There is but one more hiſtorical argument, which is drawn from King *Philip*'s treatment of the *Catalans*. 'I think it would not be unſea-'ſonable for ſome men to recollect what their 'own notions were of the treatment of the *Ca-'talans*; how many declamations were made on 'the barbarity uſed towards them by King *Philip*, '&c.' (p. 29.) If the Author remembers, theſe declamations, as he calls them, were not made ſo much on the barbarity uſed towards them by King *Philip*, as on the barbarity uſed towards them by the *Engliſh* government. King *Philip* might have ſome colour for treating them as rebels, but we ought to have regarded them as allies; and were obliged by all the ties of honour, conſcience, and publick faith, to have ſheltered them from thoſe ſufferings, which were brought upon them by a firm and inviolable adherence to our intereſt. However, none can draw into a parallel the cruelties, which have been inflicted on that unhappy people, with thoſe few inſtances of ſeverity which our Government has been obliged to exert towards the *Britiſh* rebels. I ſay, no man would make ſuch a parallel, unleſs his mind be ſo blinded with paſſion and prejudice, as to aſſert, in the language of this pamphlet, 'That 'no inſtances can be produced of the leaſt lenity 'under the preſent adminiſtration from the firſt 'hour it commenced to this day,' (p. 20.) with other aſtoniſhing reflexions of the ſame nature, which

which are contradicted by ſuch innumerable matters of fact, that it would be an affront to a reader's underſtanding to endeavour to confute them. But to return to the *Catalans*; 'During the whole courſe of the war,' ſays the Author, 'which ever of them ſubmitted to diſcretion, were received to mercy,' (p. 22.) This is ſo far from being truly related, that in the beginning of the war they were executed without mercy. But when, in conjunction with their allies, they became ſuperior to King *Philip*'s party in ſtrength, and extended their conqueſts up to the very gates of *Madrid*, it cannot be ſuppoſed the *Spaniſh* court would be ſo infatuated as to perſiſt in their firſt ſeverities againſt an enemy that could make ſuch terrible repriſals. However, when this reaſon of ſtate ceaſed, how dreadful was the havock made among this brave but unhappy people! The whole kingdom, without any diſtinction to the many thouſands of its innocent inhabitants, was ſtript of its immunities, and reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. *Barcelona* was filled with executions; and all the patriots of their ancient liberties either beheaded, ſtowed in dungeons, or condemned to work in the mines of *America*.

God be thanked we have a King who puniſhes with reluctancy, and is averſe to ſuch cruelties as were uſed among the *Catalans*, as much as to thoſe practiſed on the perſons concerned in *Monmouth*'s Rebellion. Our Author indeed condemns thoſe *Weſtern* aſſizes in King *James*'s Reign, (p. 26.) And it would be well, if all thoſe who ſtill adhere to the cauſe of that unfortunate King, and are clamorous at the proceedings of his preſent Majeſty, would remember, that notwithſtanding that Rebellion fell very much

much ſhort of this both in the number and ſtrength of the rebels, and had no tendency either to deſtroy the national religion, to introduce an arbitrary government, or to ſubject us to a foreign power; not only the chief of the rebels was beheaded, but even a Lady, who had only harboured one of the offenders in her houſe, was in her extreme old age put to the ſame kind of death: That about two hundred and thirty were hanged, drawn and quartered and their limbs diſperſed through ſeveral parts of the country, and ſet up as ſpectacles of terror to their fellow-ſubjects. It would be too tedious a work to run through the numberleſs fines, impriſonments, corporal puniſhments, and tranſportations, which were then likewiſe practiſed as wholſom ſeverities.

We have now ſeen how fallaciouſly the Author has ſtated the cauſe he has undertaken, by ſuppoſing that nothing but unlimited mercy, or unlimited puniſhment, are the methods that can be made uſe of in our preſent treatment of the rebels: That he has omitted the middle way of proceeding between theſe two extremes: That this middle way is the method in which his Majeſty, like all other wiſe and good Kings, has choſen to proceed: That it is agreeable to the nature of Government, Religion, and our *Britiſh* Conſtitution: And that every argument which the Author has produced from reaſon and example, would have been a true one, had it been urged for that reſtrained clemency which his Majeſty has exerciſed; but is a falſe one, when applied to ſuch a general, undiſtinguiſhing mercy as the Author would recommend.

Having thus anſwered that which is the main drift and deſign of this pamplet, I ſhall touch upon

upon thoſe other parts of it, which are interwoven with the arguments, to put men out of humour with the preſent Government.

And here we may obſerve, that it is our Author's method to ſuppoſe matters of fact which are not in being, and afterwards to deſcant upon them. As he is very ſenſible that the cauſe will not bear the teſt of reaſon, he has indeed every where choſen rather topicks for declamation than argument. Thus he entertains us with a laboured invective againſt a ſtanding-army. But what has this to do in the preſent caſe? I ſuppoſe he would not adviſe his Majeſty to diſband his forces while there is an army of rebels in his dominions. I cannot imagine he would think the affections of the people of *England* a ſecurity of the Government in ſuch a juncture, were it not at the ſame time defended with a ſufficient body of troops. No Prince has ever given a greater inſtance of his inclinations to rule without a ſtanding-army, if we conſider, that upon the very firſt news of the defeat of the rebels, he declared to both houſes of Parliament, that he had put an immediate ſtop to the levies which he had begun to raiſe at their requeſt, and that he would not make uſe of the power which they had intruſted him with, unleſs any new preparations of the enemy ſhould make it neceſſary for our defence. This ſpeech was received with the greateſt gratitude by both houſes; and it is ſaid, that in the Houſe of Commons a very candid and honourable Gentleman (who generally votes with the minority) declared, that he had not heard ſo gracious a ſpeech from the throne for many years laſt paſt.

In another place, he ſuppoſes that the Government has not endeavoured to gain the applauſe of the

the vulgar, by doing ſomething for the Church; and very gravely makes excuſes for this their pretended neglect. What greater inſtances could his Majeſty have given of his love to the Church of *England*, than thoſe he has exhibited by his moſt ſolemn declarations; by his daily example; and by his promotions of the moſt eminent among the clergy to ſuch vacancies as have happended in his reign. To which we muſt add, for the honour of his Government in this particular, that it has done more for the advantage of the clergy, than thoſe, who are the moſt zealous for their intereſt, could have expected in ſo ſhort a time; which will farther appear, if we reflect upon the valuable and royal donative to one of our Univerſities, and the proviſion made for thoſe who are to officiate in the fifty new churches. His Majeſty is, indeed, a Prince of too much magnanimity and truth, to make uſe of the name of the Church for drawing his people into any thing that may be prejudicial to them; for what our Author ſays, to this purpoſe, redounds as much to the honour of the preſent adminiſtration, as to the diſgrace of others. 'Nay, I wiſh with all my ſoul they had ſtooped 'a little *ad captum vulgi* to take in thoſe ſhallow 'fluttering hearts, which are to be caught by 'any thing baited with the name of Church,' (p. 11.)

Again: The Author aſks, 'Whether terror is 'to become the only national principle?' With other queſtions of the ſame nature: And in ſeveral parts of his book harangues very plentifully againſt ſuch a notion. Where he talks in general upon this topick, there is no queſtion but every Whig and Tory in the kingdom perfectly agree with him in what he ſays. But if he would

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inſinuate, as he ſeems to do in ſeveral places, that there ſhould be no impreſſions of awe upon the mind of a ſubject, and that a Government ſhould not create terror in thoſe who are diſpoſed to do ill, as well as encourage thoſe that do their duty: In ſhort, if he is for an entire excluſion of that principle of fear which is ſuppoſed to have ſome influence in every law, he oppoſes himſelf to the form of every Government in the world, and to the common ſenſe of mankind.

The artifice of this Author in ſtarting objections to the friends of the Government, and the fooliſh anſwers which he ſuppoſes they return to them, is ſo very viſible, that every one ſees they are deſigned rather to divert his reader, than to inſtruct him.

I have now examined this whole pamphlet; which, indeed, is written with a great deal of art, and as much argument as the cauſe would bear. And after having ſtated the true notion of clemency, mercy, compaſſion, good-nature, humanity, or whatever elſe it may be called, ſo far as is conſiſtent with wiſdom, and the good of mankind; or, in other words, ſo far as it is a moral virtue, I ſhall readily concur with the Author in the higheſt panegyricks that he has beſtowed upon it: As likewiſe, I heartily join with him in every thing he has ſaid againſt juſtice, if it includes, as his pamphlet ſuppoſes, the extirpation of every criminal, and is not exerciſed with a much greater mixture of clemency than rigour. Mercy, in the true ſenſe of the word, is that virtue by which a Prince approaches neareſt to him, whom he repreſents; and while he is neither remiſs nor extreme to animadvert upon thoſe who offend him, that logick will hold

true

true of him which is applied to the great Judge of all the earth; 'With thee there is mercy; 'therefore ſhalt thou be feared.'

N° 32 Monday, April 9.

Heu miſeræ cives! non hoſtem, inimicaque caſtra
Argivûm; veſtras ſpes uritis——

Virg. Æn. 5. ver. 671.

What madneſs moves ye, matrons, to deſtroy
The laſt remainders of unhappy *Troy?*
Not hoſtile fleets, but your own hopes ye burn,
And on your friends your fatal fury turn.

DRYDEN.

I Queſtion not but the *Britiſh* Ladies are very well pleaſed with the compliment I have paid them in the courſe of my Papers, by regarding them not only as the moſt amiable, but as the moſt important part of our community. They ought, indeed, to reſent the treatment they have met with from other Authors, who have never troubled their heads about them, but addreſſed all their arguments to the male half of their fellow-ſubjects; and taken it for granted, that, if they could bring theſe into their meaſures, the females would of courſe follow their political mates. The arguments they have made uſe of are like *Hudibras*'s ſpur, which he applied to one ſide of his horſe, as not doubting but the other would keep pace with it. Theſe writers ſeem to have regarded the Fair Sex but as they

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are of use in a nation; and when they consider them as parts of the commonwealth, it is only as they are of use to the consumption of our manufacture. 'Could we persuade our *British* wo-'men' says one of our eminent merchants in a letter to his friend in the country upon the subject of commerce) 'to clothe themselves in the 'comely apparel which might be made out of 'the wool of their own country; and instead 'of coffee, tea, and chocolate, to delight in 'those wholsom and palatable liquors which 'may be extracted from the *British* simples; 'they would be of great advantage to trade, 'and therein to the publick weal.'

It is now, however, become necessary to treat our women as members of the body politick; since it is visible, that great numbers of them have of late eloped from their allegiance, and that they do not believe themselves obliged to draw with us, as yoke-fellows in the constitution. They will judge for themselves; look into the state of the nation with their own eyes; and be no longer led blindfold by a male legislature. A friend of mine was lately complaining to me, that his wife had turned off one of the best cook-maids in *England*, because the wench had said something to her fellow-servants, which seemed to favour the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act.

When errors and prejudices are thus spread among the Sex, it is the hardest thing in the world to root them out. Arguments, which are the only proper means for it, are of little use: They have a very short answer to all reasonings that turn against them, 'Make us believe 'that, if you can;' which is in *Latin*, if I may upon this occasion be allowed the pedantry of a Quotation,

quotation, *non perſuadebis, etiamſi perſuaſeris.* I could not but ſmile at a young univerſity diſputant, who was complaining the other day of the unreaſonableneſs of a Lady with whom he was engaged in a point of controverſy. Being left alone with her, he took the opportunity of purſuing an argument which had been before ſtarted in diſcourſe, and put it to her in a ſyllogiſm: Upon which, as he informed us with ſome heat, ſhe granted him both the major and the minor, but denied him the concluſion.

The beſt method, therefore, that can be made uſe of with theſe polemical Ladies, who are much more eaſy to be refuted than ſilenced, is to ſhew them the ridiculous ſide of their cauſe, and to make them laugh at their own politicks. It is a kind of ill-manners to offer objections to a fine woman; and a man would be out of countenance that ſhould gain the ſuperiority in ſuch a conteſt. A coquette logician may be rallied, but not contradicted. Thoſe who would make uſe of ſolid arguments and ſtrong reaſonings to a reader or hearer of ſo delicate a turn, would be like that fooliſh people whom *Ælian* ſpeaks of, that worſhiped a Fly, and ſacrificed an Ox to it.

The truth of it is, a man muſt be of a very diſputatious temper, that enters into ſtate-controverſies with any of the fair ſex. If the malignant be not beautiful, ſhe cannot do much miſchief; and if ſhe is, her Arguments will be ſo inforced by the charms of her perſon, that her antagoniſt may be in danger of betraying his own cauſe. *Milton* puts this confeſſion into the mouth of our father *Adam*; who, though he aſſerts his ſuperiority of reaſon in his debates with the mother of mankind, adds,

——————— Yet when I approach
Her lovelineſs, ſo abſolute ſhe ſeems,
And in herſelf complete; ſo well to know
Her own, that what ſhe wills to do or ſay,
Seems wiſeſt, virtuouſeſt, diſcreeteſt, beſt:
All higher knowledge in her preſence falls
Degraded, wiſdom in diſcourſe with her
Loſes, diſcountenanced, and like ſolly ſhews;
Authority and reaſon on her wait.

If there is ſuch a native lovelineſs in the ſex, as to make them victorious even when they are in the wrong, how reſiſtleſs is their power when they are on the ſide of truth! And indeed, it is a peculiar good fortune to the Government, that our fair malecontents are ſo much over-matched in beauty, as well as number, by thoſe who are loyal to their King, and friends to their country.

Every Paper, which I have hitherto addreſſed to our beautiful incendiaries, hath been filled with conſiderations of a different kind; by which means I have taken care that thoſe, who are enemies to the ſex, or to myſelf, may not accuſe me of tautology, or pretend that I attack them with their own weapon. For this reaſon, I ſhall here lay together a new ſet of remarks, and obſerve the ſeveral artifices by which the enemies to our eſtabliſhment do raiſe ſuch unaccountable paſſions and prejudices in the minds of our diſcontented females.

In the firſt place, it is uſual among the moſt cunning of our adverſaries to repreſent all the Rebels as very handſom men. If the name of a traitor be mentioned, they are very particular in deſcribing his perſon; and when they are not able to extenuate his treaſon, commend his ſhape. This has ſo good an effect in one

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of our female audiences, that they repreſent to themſelves a thouſand, poor, tall, innocent, freſh-coloured young gentlemen, who are diſperſed among the ſeveral priſons of *Great-Britain*; and extend their generous compaſſion towards a multitude of agreeable fellows that never were in being.

Another artifice is, to inſtil jealouſies into their minds of deſigns upon the anvil to retrench the privileges of the ſex. Some repreſent the Whigs as enemies to *Flanders* lace: Others had ſpread a report, that in the late act of Parliament for four ſhillings in the pound upon land, there would be inſerted a clauſe for raiſing a tax upon pin-money. That the Ladies may be the better upon their guard againſt ſuggeſtions of this nature, I ſhall beg leave to put them in mind of the ſtory of *Papirius*, the ſon of a *Roman* ſenator. This young gentleman, after having been preſent in publick debates, was uſually teized by his mother to inform her of what had paſſed. In order to deliver himſelf from this Importunity, he told her one day, upon his return from the ſenate-houſe, that there had been a motion made for a decree to allow every man two wives. The good Lady ſaid nothing; but managed matters ſo well among the *Roman* matrons, that the next day they met together in a body before the ſenate-houſe, and preſented a petition to the fathers againſt ſo unreaſonable a law. This groundleſs credulity raiſed ſo much rallery upon the petitioners, that we do not find the Ladies offered to direct the Lawgivers of their country ever after.

There has been another method lately made uſe of, which has been practiſed with extraordinary ſucceſs; I mean the ſpreading abroad re-

ports of prodigies, which has wonderfully gratified the curiosity, as well as the hopes of our fair malignants. Their managers turn water into blood for them; frighten them with seamonsters; make them see armies in the air; and give them their word, the more to ingratiate themselves with them, that they signify nothing less than future slaughter and desolation. The disloyal part of the sex immediately hug themselves at the news of the bloody fountain; look upon these fish as their friends; have great expectations from the clouds; and are very angry with you, if you think they do not all portend ruin to their country.

Secret history and scandal have always had their allurements: And I have in other discourses shewn the great advantage that is made of them in the present ferment among the fair ones.

But the master-engine to overturn the minds of the female world, is the danger of the Church. I am not so uncharitable as to think there is any thing in an observation made by several of the Whigs, that there is scarce a woman in *England*, who is troubled with the vapours, but is more or less affected with this cry: or, to remark with others, that it is not uttered in any part of the nation with so much bitterness of tongue and heart, as in the districts of *Drury-lane*. On the contrary, I believe there are many devout and honourable women who are deluded in this point by the artifice of designing men, To these, therefore, I would apply myself, in a more serious manner, and desire them to consider how that laudable piety, which is natural to the sex, is apt to degenerate into a groundless and furious zeal, when it is not kept within the bounds

bounds of charity and reaſon. Female zeal, though proceeding from ſo good a principle, has been infinitely detrimental to ſociety, and to religion itſelf. If we may believe the *French* hiſtorians, it often put a ſtop to the proceedings of their Kings, which might have ended in a reformation. For, upon their breaking with the Pope, the Queens frequently interpoſed, and by their importunities reconciled them to the uſurpations of the church of *Rome*. Nay, it was this vicious zeal which gave a remarkable check to the firſt progreſs of chriſtianity, as we find it recorded by a ſacred hiſtorian in the following paſſage, which I ſhall leave to the conſideration of my female Readers. 'But the Jews ſtirred 'up the devout and honourable women and the 'chief men of the city, and raiſed a perſecution 'againſt *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and expelled them 'out of their coaſts.'

N°33 Friday, April 13.

Nulli adverſus magiſtratus ac reges gratiores ſunt, nec immeritò, nullis enim plus præſtant quàm quibus frui tranquillo otio licet. Itaqui hi, quibus ad propoſitum bene vivendi confert ſecuritas publica, neceſſe eſt auctorem hujus boni ut parentem colant.

Senec. Ep. 73.

None have a greater reſpect for Magiſtrates and Kings, and none with more reaſon; for none are more obliged to them, than thoſe, who enjoy eaſe and tranquility through their means. Thoſe therefore, whoſe happineſs is ſecured by the publick ſafety, ought to reſpect the Author of this good as a parent.

WE find by our publick Papers, the Univerſity of *Dublin* have lately preſented to the Prince of *Wales*, in a moſt humble and dutiful manner, their diploma for conſtituting his royal highneſs Chancellor of that learned body; and that the Prince received this their offer with the goodneſs and condeſcenſion which is natural to his illuſtrious houſe. As the college of *Dublin* have been long famous for their great learning, they have now given us an inſtance of their good-ſenſe; and it is with pleaſure that we find ſuch a diſpoſition in this famous nurſery of letters to propagate ſound principles, and to act, in its proper ſphere, for the honour and dignity of the royal family. We hope, that ſuch an example will have its influence on other ſocieties of the ſame nature; and cannot but rejoice to ſee the heir

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of *Great-Britain* vouchſafing to patronize in ſo peculiar a manner that noble ſeminary, which is perhaps at this time training up ſuch perſons as may hereafter be ornaments to his reign.

When men of learning are acted thus by a knowledge of the world as well as of books, and ſhew that their ſtudies naturally inſpire them with a love to their King and Country; they give a reputation to literature, and convince the world of its uſefulneſs. But when arts and ſciences are ſo perverted as to diſpoſe men to act in contradiction to the reſt of the community, and to ſet up for a kind of ſeparate republick among themſelves, they draw upon them the indignation of the wiſe, and the contempt of the ignorant.

It has indeed been obſerved, that perſons, who are very much eſteemed for their knowledge and ingenuity in their private characters, have acted like ſtrangers to mankind, and to the dictates of right reaſon, when joined together in a body. Like ſeveral chymical waters, that are each of them clear and tranſparent when ſeparate, but ferment into a thick troubled liquor when they are mixed in the ſame vial.

There is a piece of mythology which bears very hard upon learned men; and which I ſhall here relate, rather for the delicacy of the ſatire, than for the juſtneſs of the moral. When the city of *Athens* was finiſhed, we are told, that *Neptune* and *Minerva* preſented themſelves as candidates for the guardianſhip of the place. The *Athenians*, after a full debate upon the matter, came to an election, and made choice of *Minerva*. Upon which *Neptune*, who very much

reſented the indignity, upbraided them with their ſtupidity and ignorance; that a maritime town ſhould reject the patronage of him who was the God of the ſeas, and could defend them againſt all the attacks of their enemies. He concluded with a curſe upon the inhabitants, which was to ſtick to them and their poſterity; namely, 'That they ſhould be all fools.' When *Minerva* their tutelary goddeſs, who preſides over arts and ſciences, came among them to receive the honour they had conferred upon her, they made heavy complaints of the curſe which *Neptune* had laid upon the city; and begged her, if poſſible, to take it off. But ſhe told them, it was not in her power; for that one deity could not reverſe the act of another. 'However, ſaid ſhe, I may alleviate the curſe which 'I cannot remove: It is not poſſible for me to 'hinder you from being fools, but I will take 'care that you ſhall be learned.'

There is nothing which bodies of learned men ſhould be more careful of, than, by all due methods, to cultivate the favour of the great and powerful. The indulgence of a Prince is abſolutely neceſſary to the propagation, the defence, the honour and ſupport of learning. It naturally creates in mens minds an ambition to diſtinguiſh themſelves by letters; and multiplies the number of thoſe who are dedicated to the purſuits of knowledge. It protects them againſt the violence of brutal men; and gives them opportunities to purſue their ſtudies in a ſtate of peace and tranquillity. It puts the learned in countenance; and gives them a place among the faſhionable part of mankind. It diſtributes rewards; and encourages ſpeculative perſons, who have neither opportunity nor a

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turn of mind to increaſe their own fortunes, with all the incentives of place, profit, and preferment. On the contrary, nothing is in itſelf ſo pernicious to communities of learned men, nor more apprehended by thoſe that wiſh them well, than the diſpleaſure of their Prince, which thoſe may juſtly expect to feel, who would make uſe of his favour to his own prejudice, and put in practice all the methods that lie within their power to vilify his perſon, and diſtreſs his government. In both theſe caſes, a learned body is in a more particular manner expoſed to the influence of their King, as deſcribed by the wiſeſt of men, 'The wrath of a King is as the roaring of a lion; but his favour is as the dew upon the graſs.'

We find in our *Engliſh* hiſtories, that the Empreſs *Matilda*, (who was the great anceſtor of his preſent Majeſty, and whoſe grand-daughter of the ſame name has a place upon ſeveral of the *Hanover* medals) was particularly favoured by the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and defended in that place, when moſt parts of the Kingdom had revolted againſt her. Nor is it to be queſtioned, but an Univerſity, ſo famous for learning and ſound knowledge, will ſhew the ſame zeal for her illuſtrious deſcendent, as they will every day diſcern his Majeſty's royal virtues, through thoſe prejudices which have been raiſed in their minds by artful and deſigning men. It is with much pleaſure we ſee this great fountain of learning already beginning to run clear, and recovering its natural purity and brightneſs. None can imagine, that a community which is taxed by the worſt of its enemies, only for overſtraining the notions of Loyalty even to bad Princes, will fall ſhort of a due allegiance to the beſt.

When this happy temper of mind is fully eſtabliſhed among them, we may juſtly hope to ſee the largeſt ſhare of his Majeſty's favours fall upon that Univerſity, which is the greateſt, and upon all accounts the moſt conſiderable not only in his dominions but in all *Europe*.

I ſhall conclude this Paper with a quotation out of *Camden*'s hiſtory of Queen *Elizabeth*, who, after having deſcribed that Queen's reception at *Oxford*, gives an account of the ſpeech which ſhe made to them at her departure; concluding with a piece of advice to that Univerſity. Her counſel was, 'That they would firſt ſerve God, not 'after the curioſity of ſome, but according to the 'laws of God and the land; that they would 'not go before the laws, but follow them; 'nor diſpute whether better might be preſcribed, 'but keep thoſe preſcribed already; obeying 'their ſuperiors; and laſtly, embrace one another in brotherly piety and concord.'

N° 34 Monday, April 16.

———— *ſævus apertam*
In rabiem cœpit verti jocus ————
Hor. Epiſt. 1. l. 2. ver. 148.

Triumphant malice rag'd thro' private life.
POPE.

IT is very juſtly, as well as frequently obſerved, that if our nation be ever ruined, it muſt be by itſelf. The parties and diviſions which reign among us may ſeveral ways bring deſtruction upon

upon our country, at the ſame time that our united force would be ſufficient to ſecure us againſt all the attempts of a foreign enemy. Whatever expedients therefore can be found to allay thoſe heats and animoſities, which break us into different factions and intereſts, cannot but be uſeful to the publick, and highly tend to its ſafety, ſtrength, and reputation.

This dangerous diſſenſion among us diſcovers itſelf in all the moſt indifferent circumſtances of life. We keep it up, and cheriſh it with as much pains, as if it were a kind of national bleſſing. It inſinuates itſelf into all our diſcourſes, mixes in our parties of pleaſure, has a ſhare in our diverſions, and is an ingredient in moſt of our publick entertainments.

I was hot long ago at the Play called Sir *Courtly Nice*, where, to the eternal reproach of good-ſenſe, I found the whole audience had very gravely ranged themſelves into two parties, under Hot-head and Teſtimony. Hot-head was the applauded hero of the Tories, and Teſtimony no leſs the favourite of the Whigs. Each party followed their Champion. It was wonderful to ſee ſo polite an aſſembly diſtinguiſhing themſelves by ſuch extraordinary repreſentatives, and avowing their principles as conformable either to the zeal of Hot-head, or the moderation of Teſtimony. Thus the two parts, which were deſigned to expoſe the faults of both ſides, and were accordingly received by our anceſtors in King *Charles* the Second's reign, meet with a kind of ſanction from the applauſes which are reſpectively beſtowed on them by their wiſe poſterity. We ſeem to imagine, that they were written as patterns for imitation, not as objects of ridicule.

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This humour runs so far, that most of our late comedies owe their success to it. The Audience listens after nothing else. I have seen little *Dicky* place himself with great approbation at the head of the Tories for five Acts together, and *Pinky* espouse the interest of the Whigs with no less Success. I do not find that either party has yet thrown themselves under the patronage of Scaramouch, or that Harlequin has violated that neutrality, which, upon his late arrival in *Great-Britain*, he professed to both parties, and which it is thought he will punctually observe, being allowed on all sides to be a man of honour. It is true, that, upon his first appearance, a violent Whig tradesman in the pit begun to compliment him with a clap, as overjoyed to see him mount a ladder, and fancying him to be dress in a highland plad.

I question not but my readers will be surprised to find me animadverting on a practice that has been always favourable to the cause which now prevails. The *British* theatre was Whig even in the worst of times; and in the last reign did not scruple to testify its zeal for the good of our country, by many magnanimous claps in its lower regions, answered with loud huzzas from the upper gallery. This good disposition is so much heightened of late, that the whole neighbourhood of the *Drury-Lane* Theatre very often shakes with the Loyalty of the audience. It is said, that a young Author, who very much relies on this prevailing humour, is now writing a farce to be called, 'A match 'out of newgate,' in allusion to the title of a comedy called, 'A match in newgate;' and that his chief person is a round shouldered man with a pretty

a pretty large noſe and a wide mouth, making his addreſſes to a lovely black woman that paſſes for a Peereſs of *Great-Britain*. In ſhort, the whole play is built upon the late eſcape of General *Foreſter*, who is ſuppoſed upon the road to fall in love with my Lord *Nithſdale*, whom the ingenious Author imagines to be ſtill in his riding-hood.

But notwithſtanding the good principles of a *Britiſh* audience in this one particular, it were to be wiſhed, that every thing ſhould be baniſhed the ſtage which has a tendency to exaſperate mens minds, and inflame that party rage which makes us ſuch a miſerable and divided people. And that in the firſt place, becauſe ſuch a proceeding as this diſappoints the very deſign of all publick diverſions and entertainments. The inſtitution of ſports and ſhows was intended by all governments, to turn off the thoughts of the people from buſying themſelves in matters of ſtate, which did not belong to them; to reconcile them to one another by the common participations of mirth and pleaſure; and to wear out of their minds that rancour which they might have contracted by the interfering views of intereſt and ambition. It would therefore be for the benefit of every ſociety, that is diſturbed by contending factions, to encourage ſuch innocent amuſements as may thus diſembitter the minds of men, and make them mutually rejoice in the ſame agreeable ſatisfactions. When people are accuſtomed to ſit together with pleaſure, it is a ſtep towards reconciliation: But as we manage matters, our politeſt aſſemblies are like boiſterous clubs, that meet over a glaſs of wine, and, before they have done, throw bottles at one another's heads. Inſtead of multiplying

tiplying those desirable opportunites where we may agree in points that are indifferent, we let the spirit of contention into those very methods that are not only foreign to it, but should in their nature dispose us to be friends. This our anger in our mirth is like poison in a perfume, which taints the spirits instead of chearing and refreshing them.

Another manifest inconvenience which arises from this abuse of publick entertainments, is, that it naturally destroys the taste of an audience. I do not deny, but that several performances have been justly applauded for their wit, which have been written with an eye to this predominant humour of the town: But it is visible even in these, that it is not the excellence, but the application of the sentiment, that has raised applause. An Author is very much disappointed to find the best parts of his productions received with indifference, and to see the audience discovering beauties which he never intended. The actors, in the midst of an innocent old play, are often startled with unexpected claps or hisses; and do not know whether they have been talking like good subjects, or have spoken treason. In short, we seem to have such a relish for faction, as to have lost that of wit; and are so used to the bitterness of party-rage, that we cannot be gratified with the highest entertainment that has not this kind of seasoning in it. But as no work must expect to live long, which draws all its beauty from the colour of the times; so neither can that pleasure be of greater continuance, which arises from the prejudice or malice of its hearers.

To conclude: Since the present hatred and violence of parties is so unspeakably pernicious

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to the community, and none can do a better ſervice to their country than thoſe who uſe their utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh it, we may reaſonably hope, that the more elegant part of the nation will give a good example to the reſt; and put an end to ſo abſurd and fooliſh a practice, which makes our moſt refined diverſions detrimental to the publick, and in a particular manner deſtructive of all politeneſs.

N° 35 Friday, April 20.

Athenienſium res geſtæ, ſicut ego exiſtumo, ſatis amplæ magnificæque fuere, verùm aliquanto minores tamen, quàm famâ feruntur: Sed, quia provenere ibi magna ſcriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem athenienſium facta pro maxumis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere præclara ingenia.

Saluſt. Bell. Catil. 8.

The actions of the *Athenians* were ſufficiently great and noble; though I am apt to think, fame has recorded them greater and nobler than they really were: For, having the advantage of ſeveral excellent hiſtorians, the exploits of the *Athenians* are celebrated, as the moſt extraordinary, through the whole world; and the reputation of their great men is advanced in proportion to the wit and ingenuity of their writers.

Gratian, among his maxims for raiſing a man to the moſt conſummate character of greatneſs, adviſes firſt to perform extraordinary actions,

tions, and in the next place to ſecure a good hiſtorian. Without the laſt, he conſiders the firſt as thrown away; as indeed they are in a great meaſure by ſuch illuſtrious perſons, as make fame and reputation the end of their undertakings. The moſt ſhining merit goes down to poſterity with diſadvantage, when it is not placed by writers in its proper light.

The misfortune is, that there are more inſtances of men who deſerve this kind of immortality, than of Authors who are able to beſtow it. Our country, which has produced writers of the firſt figure in every other kind of work, has been very barren in good hiſtorians. We have had ſeveral who have been able to compile matters of fact, but very few who have been able to digeſt them with that purity and elegance of ſtile, that nicety and ſtrength of reflexion, that ſubtilty and diſcernment in the unraveling of a character, and that choice of circumſtances for enlivening the whole narration, which we ſo juſtly admire in the ancient hiſtorians of *Greece* and *Rome*, and in ſome Authors of our neighbouring nations.

Thoſe, who have ſucceeded beſt in works of this kind, are ſuch, who, beſides their natural good-ſenſe and learning, have themſelves been verſed in publick buſineſs, and thereby acquired a thorough knowledge of men and things. It was the advice of the great Duke of *Schomberg*, to an eminent hiſtorian of his acquaintance, who was an Eccleſiaſtick, that he ſhould avoid being too particular in the drawing up of an army, and other circumſtances of the day of battle; for that he had always obſerved moſt notorious blunders and abſurdities committed, on that occaſion, by ſuch writers as

were

were not converſant in the art of war. We may reaſonably expect the like miſtakes in every other kind of publick matters, recorded by thoſe who have only a diſtant theory of ſuch affairs. Beſides, it is not very probable, that men, who have paſſed all their time in low and vulgar life, ſhould have a ſuitable idea of the ſeveral beauties and blemiſhes in the actions or characters of great men. For this reaſon I find an old law quoted by the famous Monſieur *Bayle*, that no perſon below the dignity of a *Roman* Knight ſhould preſume to write an hiſtory.

In *England* there is ſcarce any one, who has had a tincture of reading or ſtudy, that is not apt to fancy himſelf equal to ſo great a taſk; though it is plain, that many of our countrymen, who have tampered in hiſtory, frequently ſhew, that they do not underſtand the very nature of thoſe tranſactions which they recount. Nay, nothing is more uſual than to ſee every man, who is verſed in any particular way of buſineſs, finding fault with ſeveral of theſe Authors, ſo far as they treat of matters within his ſphere.

There is a race of men lately ſprung up among this ſort of writers, whom one cannot reflect upon without indignation as well as contempt. Theſe are our *Grub-ſtreet* biographers, who watch for the death of a great man, like ſo many undertakers, on purpoſe to make a penny of him. He is no ſooner laid in his grave, but he falls into the hands of an hiſtorian; who, to ſwell a volume, aſcribes to him works which he never wrote, and actions which he never performed; celebrates virtues which he was never famous for, and excuſes faults

which

which he was never guilty of. They fetch their only authentick records out of *Doctors Commons*, and when they have got a copy of his laſt will and teſtament, they fancy themſelves furniſhed with ſufficient materials for his hiſtory. This might indeed enable them in ſome meaſure to write the hiſtory of his death; but what can we expect from an Author that undertakes to write the life of a great man, who is furniſhed with no other matters of fact, beſides legacies; and inſtead of being able to tell us what he did, can only tell us what he bequeathed? This manner of expoſing the private concerns of families, and ſacrificing the ſecrets of the dead to the curioſity of the living, is one of thoſe licentious practices which might well deſerve the animadverſion of our Government, when it has time to contrive expedients for remedying the many crying abuſes of the preſs. In the mean while, what a poor idea muſt ſtrangers conceive of thoſe perſons, who have been famous among us in their generation, ſhould they form their notions of them from the writings of theſe our hiſtoriographers! what would our poſterity think of their illuſtrious forefathers, ſhould they only ſee them in ſuch weak and diſadvantageous lights! But to our comfort, works of this nature are ſo ſhort-lived, that they cannot poſſibly diminiſh the memory of thoſe patriots which they are not able to preſerve.

The truth of it is, as the lives of great men cannot be written with any tolerable degree of elegance or exactneſs, within a ſhort ſpace after their deceaſe; ſo neither is it fit that the hiſtory of a perſon, who has acted among us in a publick character, ſhould appear, until envy

and

and friendſhip are laid aſleep, and the prejudice both of his antagoniſts and adherents be, in ſome degree, ſoftned and ſubdued. There is no queſtion, but there are ſeveral eminent perſons in each party, however they may repreſent one another at preſent, who will have the ſame admirers among poſterity, and be equally celebrated by thoſe, whoſe minds will not be diſtempered by intereſt, paſſion, or partiality. It were happy for us, could we prevail upon ourſelves to imagine, that one, who differs from us in opinion, may poſſibly be an honeſt man; and that we might do the ſame juſtice to one another, which will be done us hereafter by thoſe who ſhall make their appearance in the world, when this generation is no more. But in our preſent miſerable and divided condition, how juſt ſoever a man's pretenſions may be to a great or blameleſs reputation, he muſt expect his ſhare of obloquy and reproach; and, even with regard to his poſthumous character, content himſelf with ſuch a kind of conſideration, as induced the famous Sir *Francis Bacon*, after having bequeathed his ſoul to God, and his body to the earth, to leave his fame to foreign nations; and, after ſome years, to his own country.

Monday,

N°36 Monday, April 23.

———*Illa ſe jactet in aula.*

Virg. Æn. 1. ver. 144.

There let him reign. DRYDEN.

AMong all the paradoxes in politicks which have been advanced by ſome among us, there is none ſo abſurd and ſhocking to the moſt ordinary underſtanding, as that it is poſſible for *Great-Britain* to be quietly governed by a Popiſh Sovereign. King *Henry* the Fourth found it impracticable for a Proteſtant to reign even in *France*, notwithſtanding the reformed religion does not engage a Prince to the perſecution of any other; and notwithſtanding the authority of the Sovereign in that country is more able to ſupport itſelf, and command the obedience of the people, than in any other *European* Monarchy. We are convinced by the experience of our own times, that our conſtitution is not able to bear a Popiſh Prince at the head of it. King *James* the Second was endowed with many royal virtues, and might have made a nation of Roman Catholicks happy under his adminiſtration. The grievances we ſuffered in his reign proceeded purely from his religion: But they were ſuch as made the whole body of the Nobility, Clergy, and commonalty, riſe up as one man againſt him, and oblige him to quit the throne of his anceſtors. The truth of it is, we have only the vices of a Proteſtant

teſtant Prince to fear, and may be made happy by his virtues: But in a Popiſh Prince we have no chance for our proſperity; his very piety obliges him to our deſtruction: And in proportion as he is more religious, he becomes more inſupportable. One would wonder, therefore, to find many who call themſelves Proteſtants, favouring the pretenſions of a perſon, who has been bred up in the utmoſt bitterneſs and bigotry of the church of *Rome*; and who, in all probability, within leſs than a twelvemonth, would be oppoſed by thoſe very men that are induſtrious to ſet him upon the throne, were it poſſible for ſo wicked and unnatural an attempt to ſucceed.

I was ſome months ago in a company, that diverted themſelves with the Declaration which he had then publiſhed, and particularly with the date of it, 'In the fourteenth year of our reign.' The company was ſurpriſed to find there was a King in *Europe* who had reigned ſo long and made ſuch a ſecret of it. This gave occaſion to one of them, who is now in *France*, to enquire into the hiſtory of this remarkable reign, which he has digeſted into annals, and lately tranſmitted hither for the peruſal of his friends.

I have ſuppreſſed ſuch perſonal reflexions as are mixed in this ſhort chronicle, as not being to the purpoſe; and find that the whole hiſtory of his regal conduct and exploits may be comprized in the remaining part of this half-ſheet.

The history of the Pretender's *fourteen years reign, digested into annals.*

Anno Regni 1°. He made choice of his ministry, the first of whom was his Confessor. This was a person recommended by the society of Jesuits, who represented him as one very proper to guide the conscience of a King, that hoped to rule over an island which is not within the pale of the church. He then proceeded to name the President of his Council, his Secretaries of State, and gave away a very honourable fine-cure to his principal favourite, by constituting him his Lord High-Treasurer. He likewise signed a dormant commission for another to be his High-Admiral, with orders to produce it whenever he had sea-room for his employment.

Anno Regni 2°. He perfected himself in the minuet step.

Anno Regni 3°. He grew half a foot.

Anno Regni 4°. He wrote a letter to the Pope, desiring him to be as kind to him as his predecessor had been, who was his godfather. In the same year he ordered the Lord High-Treasurer to pay off the debts of the crown, which had been contracted since his accession to the throne; particularly, a milk-score of three years standing.

Anno Regni 5°. He very much improved himself in all princely learning, having read over the legends of the saints, with the history of those several martyrs in *England*, who had attempted to blow up a whole parliament of hereticks.

Anno Regni 6°. He applied himself to the arts of government with more than ordinary diligence; took a plan of the bastile with his own hand;

hand; viſited the galleys; and ſtudied the edicts of his great patron *Louis* the Fourteenth.

Anno Regni 7°. Being now grown up to years of maturity, he reſolved to ſeek adventures; but was very much divided in his mind, whether he ſhould make an expedition to *Scotland*, or a pilgrimage to *Loretto*; being taught to look upon the latter, in a religious ſenſe, as the place of his nativity. At length he reſolved upon his *Scotch* expedition; and, as the firſt exertion of that royal authority, which he was going to aſſume, he knighted himſelf. After a ſhort piece of errantry upon the ſeas, he got ſafe back to *Dunkirk*, where he paid his devotions to St. *Anthony*, for having delivered him from the dangers of the ſea, and Sir *George Bing*.

Anno Regni 8°. He made a campaign in *Flanders*, where, by the help of a teleſcope, he ſaw the battle of *Oudenarde*, and the Prince of *Hanover*'s horſe ſhot under him; being poſted on a high tower with two *French* Princes of the blood.

Anno Regni 9°. He made a ſecond campaign in *Flanders*; and, upon his return to the *French* court, gained a great reputation, by his performance in a rigadoon.

Anno Regni 10° The Pope, having heard the fame of theſe his military atchievements, made him the offer of a Cardinal's cap; which he was adviſed not to accept, by ſome of his friends in *England*.

Anno Regni 11°. He retired to *Lorrain*, where every morning he made great havock among the wild-fowl, by the advice, and with the aſſiſtance, of his Privy-Council. He is ſaid, this ſummer, to have ſhot with his own hands fifty brace of pheaſants, and one wild pig; to have

ſet

ſet thirty coveys of partridges; and to have hunted down forty brace of hares; to which he might have added as many foxes, had not moſt of them made their eſcape, by running out of his friend's dominions, before his dogs could finiſh the chace. He was particularly animated to theſe diverſions by his miniſtry, who thought they would not a little recommend him to the good opinion and kind offices of ſeveral *Britiſh* fox-hunters.

Anno Regni 12°. He made a viſit to the Duke *d'Amount*, and paſſed for a *French* Marquis in a maſquerade.

Anno Regni 13°. He viſited ſeveral convents, and gathered ſubſcriptions from all the well-diſpoſed Monks and Nuns, to whom he communicated his deſign of an attempt upon *Great-Britain*.

Anno Regni 14°. He now made great preparations for the invaſion of *England*, and got together vaſt ſtores of ammunition, conſiſting of relicks, gunpowder and cannon-ball. He received from the Pope a very large contribution, one moiety in money, and the other in indulgences. An *Iriſh* prieſt brought him an authentick tooth of St. *Thomas a Becket*, and, it is thought, was to have for his reward the Archbiſhoprick of *Canterbury*. Every monaſtery contributed ſomething: One gave him a thouſand pound; and another as many maſſes.

This year continuing farther the battles which he fought in *Scotland*, and the towns which he took, is ſo freſh in every one's memory, that we ſhall ſay no more of it.

Friday,

N° 37 Friday, April 27.

——————————quòd ſi
Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere poſſes;
Quò te cæleſtis ſapientia duceret, ires,
Hoc opus, hoc ſtudium parvi properemus, & ampli,
Si patriæ volumus, ſi nobis vivere cari.

Hor. Ep. 3. lib. 1. ver. 25.

If you cou'd leave thoſe cares that 'numb the mind,
Shake off thy fears, and leave the clog behind;
Then you wou'd live as wiſdom's rules adviſe:
This is the work, the noble ſtudy this:
This rich and poor ſhou'd make their greateſt care,
If we wou'd live ſecure, and free from fear,
To honeſt men, and to our country dear.

CREECH.

IT is a melancholy reflexion, that our country, which in times of popery was called the nation of ſaints, ſhould now have leſs appearance of religion in it, than any other neighbouring ſtate or kingdom; whether they be ſuch as continue ſtill immerſed in the errors of the church of *Rome*, or ſuch as are recovered out of them. This is a truth, that is obvious to every one, who has been converſant in foreign parts. It was formerly thought dangerous for a young man to travel, leſt he ſhould return an Atheiſt to his native country: But at preſent it is certain, that an *Engliſhman*, who has any tolerable degree of reflexion, cannot be better awakened to a ſenſe of religion in general, than by obſerving how the

minds of all mankind are set upon this important point; how every nation is serious and attentive to the great business of their being; and that in other countries a man is not out of the fashion, who is bold and open in the profession and practice of all Christian duties.

This decay of piety is by no means to be imputed to the Reformation, which in its first establishment produced its proper fruits, and distinguished the whole age with shining instances of virtue and morality. If we would trace out the original of that flagrant and avowed impiety, which has prevailed among us for some years, we should find that it owes its rise to that opposite extreme of Cant and Hypocrisy, which had taken possession of the people's minds in the times of the great rebellion, and of the usurpation that succeeded it. The practices of these men, under the covert of a feigned zeal, made even the appearances of sincere devotion ridiculous and unpopular. The rallery of the wits and courtiers, in King *Charles* the Second's reign, upon every thing which they called precise, was carried to so great an extravagance, that it almost put christianity out of countenance. The ridicule grew so strong and licentious, that from this time we may date that remarkable turn in the behaviour of our fashionable *Englishman*, that makes them shame-faced in the exercise of those duties which they were sent into the world to perform.

The late cry of the Church has been an artifice of the same kind with that made use of by the hypocrites of the last age, and has had as fatal an influence upon religion. If a man would but seriously consider how much greater comfort he would receive in the last moments of his

his life from a reflexion that he has made one virtuous man, than that he has made a thouſand Tories, we ſhould not ſee the zeal of ſo many good men turned off from its proper end, and employed in making ſuch a kind of converts. What ſatisfaction will it be to an immoral man, at ſuch a time, to think he is a good Whig! or to one that is conſcious of ſedition, perjury, or rebellion, that he dies with the reputation of a High-Churchman!

But to conſider how this cry of the Church has corrupted the morals of both parties: Thoſe who are the loudeſt in it regard themſelves rather as a political, than a religious community, and are held together rather by ſtate-notions, than by articles of faith. This fills the minds of weak men, who fall into the ſnare, with groundleſs fears and apprehenſions, unſpeakable rage towards their fellow-ſubjects, wrong ideas of perſons whom they are not acquainted with, and uncharitable interpretations of thoſe actions of which they are not competent judges. It inſtils into their minds the utmoſt virulence and bitterneſs, inſtead of that charity, which is the perfection and ornament of religion, and the moſt indiſpenſable and neceſſary means for attaining the end of it. In a word, among theſe miſtaken zealots, it ſanctifies cruelty and injuſtice, riots and treaſon.

The effects, which this cry of the Church has had on the other party, are no leſs manifeſt and deplorable. They ſee themſelves unjuſtly aſperſed by it, and vindicate themſelves in terms no leſs opprobrious, than thoſe by which they are attacked. Their indignation and reſentment riſes in proportion to the malice of their adverſaries. The unthinking part of them are apt

to contract an unreasonable aversion even to that ecclesiastical constitution to which they are represented as enemies; and not only to particular persons, but to that order of men in general, which will be always held sacred and honourable, so long as there is reason and religion in the world.

I might mention many other corruptions common to both parties, which naturally flow from this source, and might easily shew, upon a full display of them, that this clamour, which pretends to be raised for the safety of religion, has almost worn out the very appearance of it; and rendered us not only the most divided, but the most immoral people upon the face of the earth.

When our nation is overflowed with such a deluge of impiety, it must be a great pleasure to find any expedient take place, that has a tendency to recover it out of so dismal a condition. This is one great reason why an honest man may rejoice to see an act so near taking effect, for making elections of members to serve in parliament less frequent. I find myself prevented by other writings (which have considered the act, now depending, in this particular light) from expatiating upon this subject. I shall only mention two short pieces which I have been just now reading, under the following titles, 'Arguments about the alteration of the triennial elections of parliament: And, the alteration in the triennial act considered.'

The reasons for this law, as it is necessary for settling his Majesty in his throne; for extinguishing the spirit of rebellion; for procuring foreign alliances; and other advantages of the like nature; carry a great weight with them.

them. But I am particularly pleaſed with it, as it may compoſe our unnatural feuds and animoſities, revive an honeſt ſpirit of induſtry in the nation, and cut off frequent occaſions of brutal rage and intemperance; in ſhort, as it will make us not only a more ſafe, a more flouriſhing, and a more happy, but alſo a more virtuous people.

N° 38 Monday, April 30.

———*Longum, formoſa, Vale*———

Virg. Ecl. 3. ver. 79.

Adieu, my fair, a long adieu!

IT is the ambition of the male-part of the world to make themſelves eſteemed, and of the female to make themſelves beloved. As this is the laſt Paper which I ſhall addreſs to my fair readers, I cannot perhaps oblige them more than by leaving them as a kind of legacy a certain ſecret, which ſeldom fails of procuring this Affection, which they are naturally formed both to deſire and to obtain. This *Noſtrum* is comprized in the following ſentence of *Seneca*, which I ſhall tranſlate for the ſervice of my countrywomen. *Ego tibi monſtrabo amatorium ſine medicamento, ſine herba, ſine ullius veneficæ carmine: Si vis amari, ama.* "I will diſcover to you a "philter that has neither drug nor ſimple, nor "enchantment in it. Love, if you would raiſe "love.' If there be any truth in this diſco-

very, and this be such a specifick as the Author pretends, there is nothing which makes the Sex more unamiable than Party rage. The finest woman, in a transport of fury, loses the use of her face. Instead of charming her beholders, she frights both friend and foe. The latter can never be smitten by so bitter an enemy, nor the former captivated by a nymph, who, upon occasion, can be so very angry. The most endearing of our beautiful fellow-subjects are those whose minds are the least imbittered with the passions and prejudices of either side, and who discover the native sweetness of the Sex in every part of their conversation and behaviour. A lovely woman, who thus flourishes in her innocence and good-humour, amidst that mutual spite and rancour which prevails among her exasperated sisterhood, appears more amiable by the singularity of her character; and may be compared, with *Solomon*'s bride, to 'a lily among 'the thorns.'

A stateswoman is as ridiculous a creature as a cot-quean. Each of the Sexes should keep within its particular bounds, and content themselves to excel within their respective districts. When *Venus* complained to *Jupiter* of the wound which she had received in battle, the father of the gods smiled upon her, and put her in mind, that instead of mixing in war, which was not her business, she should have been officiating in her proper ministry, and carrying on the delights of marriage. The delicacy of several modern criticks has been offended with *Homer*'s *Billingsgate* warriors; but a scolding hero is at the worst, a more tolerable character than a bully in petticoats. To which we may add, that the keenest satirist, among the ancients,

looked

looked upon nothing as a more proper ſubject of rallery and invective, than a female gladiator.

I am the more diſpoſed to take into conſideration theſe Ladies of fire and politicks, becauſe it would be very monſtrous to ſee feuds and animoſities kept up among the ſoft Sex, when they are in ſo hopeful a way of being compoſed among the men, by the ſeptennial bill, which is now ready for the royal aſſent. As this is likely to produce a ceſſation of arms, until the expiration of the preſent Parliament, among one half of our iſland, it is very reaſonable, that the more beautiful moiety of his Majeſty's ſubjects ſhould eſtabliſh a truce among themſelves for the ſame term of years. Or rather, it were to be wiſhed, that they would ſummon together a kind of ſenate, or Parliament, of the faireſt and wiſeſt of our ſiſter-ſubjects, in order to enact a perpetual neutrality among the Sex. They might at leaſt appoint ſomething like a committee, choſen from among the Ladies reſiding in *London* and *Weſtminſter*, in order to prepare a bill to be laid before the aſſembly upon the firſt opportunity of their meeting. The regulation might be as follows:

" That a committee of Toſts be forthwith " appointed; to conſider the preſent ſtate of the " Sex in the *Britiſh* nation.

" That this committee do meet at the houſe of " every reſpective member of it on her viſiting- " day; and that every one who comes to it ſhall " have a vote, and a diſh of tea.

" That the committee be impowered to ſend " for billets-doux, libels, lampoons, liſts of " toſts, or any other the like papers and re- " cords.

" That it be an inſtruction to the ſaid commit-
" tee, to conſider of proper ways and methods to
" reclaim the obſtinately opprobrious and viru-
" lent; and how to make the ducking-ſtool more
" uſeful."

Being always willing to contribute my aſſiſtances to my countrywomen, I will propoſe a preamble, ſetting forth, " That the late civil " war among the Sex has tended very much " to the leſſening of that ancient and undoubted " authority, which they have claimed over the " male part of the iſland; to the ruin of good " houſewifry; and to the betraying of many " important ſecrets: That it has produced much " bitterneſs of ſpeech, many ſharp and violent " conteſts, and a great effuſion of citron-" water: That it has raiſed animoſities in their " hearts, and heats in their faces: That it " has broke out in their ribbons, and cauſed " unſpeakable confuſions in their dreſs: And " above all, that it has introduced a certain " frown into the features, and a ſourneſs into " the air of our *Britiſh* Ladies, to the great " damage of their charms, and viſible decay " of the national beauty."

As for the enacting part of the bill, it may conſiſt of many particulars, which will naturally ariſe from the debates of the tea-table; and muſt, therefore, be left to the diſcretion and experience of the committee. Perhaps, it might not be amiſs to enact, among other things,

" That the diſcourſing on politicks ſhall be " looked upon as dull as talking on the weather.

" That if any man troubles a female aſſem-" bly with parliament-news, he ſhall be marked " out as a blockhead, or an incendiary.

" That

" That no woman ſhall henceforth preſume " to ſtick a patch upon her forehead, unleſs it " be in the very middle, that is, in the neutral " part of it.

" That all fans and ſnuff-boxes, of what " principles ſoever, ſhall be called in: And " that orders be given to *Motteux* and *Ma-* " *thers*, to deliver out, in exchange for them, " ſuch as have no tincture of party in them.

" That when any Lady beſpeaks a play, ſhe " ſhall take effectual care, that the audience be " pretty equally checkered with Whigs and " Tories.

" That no woman of any party preſume to " influence the legiſlature.

" That there be a general amneſty and obli- " vion of all former hoſtilities and diſtinctions, " all publick and private failings on either ſide: " And that every one who comes into this neu- " trality within the ſpace of weeks, " ſhall be allowed an ell extraordinary, above the " preſent ſtandard, in the circumference of her " petticoat.

" Provided always, nevertheleſs, that nothing " herein contained ſhall extend, or be conſtrued " to extend, to any perſon or perſons, inhabiting " and practiſing within the hundreds of *Drury*, " or to any other of that ſociety in what part " ſoever of the nation, in like manner practiſing " and reſiding; who are ſtill at liberty to rail, " calumniate, ſcold, frown and pout, as in " aforetimes, any thing in this act to the con- " trary notwithſtanding."

N° 39 Friday, April 4.

Prodeſſe quàm conſpici. Lord SOMERS's Motto.

Uſeful rather than conſpicuous.

IT often happens, that extirpating the love of glory, which is obſerved to take the deepeſt root in noble minds, tears up ſeveral virtues with it, and that ſuppreſſing the deſire of fame is apt to reduce men to a ſtate of indolence and ſupineneſs. But when, without any incentive of vanity, a perſon of great abilities is zealous for the good of mankind; and as ſolicitous for the concealment, as the performance of illuſtrious actions; we may be ſure, that he has ſomething more than ordinary in his compoſition, and has a heart filled with goodneſs and magnanimity.

There is not perhaps, in all hiſtory, a greater inſtance of this temper of mind, than what appeared in that excellent perſon, whoſe motto I have placed at the head of this Paper. He had worn himſelf out in his application to ſuch ſtudies as made him uſeful or ornamental to the world, in concerting ſchemes for the welfare of his country, and in proſecuting ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for making thoſe ſchemes effectual: But all this was done with a view to the publick good that ſhould riſe out of theſe generous endeavours, and not to the fame which ſhould accrue to himſelf. Let the reputation of the action fall where it would; ſo his country reaped the benefit of it, he was ſatisfied. As this

this turn of mind threw off in a great measure the oppoſitions of envy and competition, it enabled him to gain the moſt vain and impracticable into his deſigns, and to bring about ſeveral great events for the ſafety and advantage of the publick, which muſt have died in the birth, had he been as deſirous of appearing beneficial to mankind, as of being ſo.

As he was admitted into the ſecret and moſt retired thoughts and counſels of his Royal Maſter King *William*, a great ſhare in the plan of the proteſtant ſucceſſion is univerſally aſcribed to him. And if he did not entirely project the union of the two kingdoms, and the bill of regency, which ſeem to have been the only methods in human policy for ſecuring to us ſo ineſtimable a bleſſing, there is none who will deny him to have been the chief conductor in both theſe glorious works. For poſterity are obliged to allow him that praiſe after his death, which he induſtriouſly declined while he was living. His life indeed ſeems to have been prolonged beyond its natural term, under thoſe indiſpoſitions which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the happy ſettlement take place, which he had propoſed to himſelf as the principal end of all his publick labours. Nor was it a ſmall addition to his happineſs, that by this means he ſaw thoſe who had been always his moſt intimate friends, and who had concerted with him ſuch meaſures for the guaranty of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as drew upon them the diſpleaſure of men who were adverſe to it, advanced to the higheſt poſts of truſt and honour under his preſent Majeſty. I believe there are none of

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these patriots, who will think it a derogation from their merit to have it said, that they received many lights and advantages from their intimacy with my Lord *Somers:* Who had such a general knowledge of affairs, and so tender a concern for his friends, that, whatever station they were in, they usually applied to him for his advice in every perplexity of business, and in affairs of the greatest difficulty.

His life was, in every part of it, set off with that graceful modesty and reserve, which made his virtues more beautiful, the more they were cast in such agreeable shades.

His religion was sincere, not ostentatious; and such as inspired him with an universal benevolence towards all his fellow-subjects, not with bitterness against any part of them. He shewed his firm adherence to it as modeled by our national constitution, and was constant to its offices of devotion, both in publick and in his family. He appeared a champion for it with great reputation in the cause of the seven Bishops, at a time when the church was really in danger. To which we may add, that he held a strict friendship and correspondence with the great Archbishop *Tillotson*, being acted by the same spirit of candour and moderation; and moved rather with pity than indignation towards the persons of those, who differed from him in the unessential parts of christianity.

His great humanity appeared in the minutest circumstances of his conversation. You found it in the benevolence of his aspect, the complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his voice. His great application to the severer studies

dies of the law had not infected his temper with any thing poſitive or litigious. He did not know what it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph in the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, or to be ſupercilious on the ſide of truth. He joined the greateſt delicacy of good-breeding to the greateſt ſtrength of reaſon. By approving the ſentiments of a perſon, with whom he converſed, in ſuch particulars as were juſt, he won him over from thoſe points in which he was miſtaken; and had ſo agreeable a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever conferred with him grew the wiſer, without perceiving that he had been inſtructed. We may probably aſcribe to this maſterly and engaging manner of converſation, the great eſteem which he had gained with the late Queen, while ſhe purſued thoſe meaſures which had carried the *Britiſh* nation to the higheſt pitch of glory; notwithſtanding ſhe had entertained many unreaſonable prejudices againſt him, before ſhe was acquainted with his perſonal worth and behaviour.

As in his political capacity we have before ſeen how much he contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant intereſt, and the good of his native country, he was always true to theſe great ends. His character was uniform and conſiſtent with itſelf, and his whole conduct of a piece. His principles were founded in reaſon, and ſupported by virtue; and therefore did not lie at the mercy of ambition, avarice, or reſentment. His notions were no leſs ſteady and unſhaken, than juſt and upright. In a word, he concluded his courſe among the ſame well-choſen friendſhips and alliances, with which he began it.'

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This great man was not more conſpicuous as a patriot and a ſtateſman, than as a perſon of univerſal knowledge and learning. As by dividing his time between the publick ſcenes of Buſineſs, and the private retirements of life, he took care to keep up both the great and good man; ſo by the ſame means he accompliſhed himſelf not only in the knowledge of men and things, but in the ſkill of the moſt refined arts and ſciences. That unwearied diligence, which followed him through all the ſtages of his life, gave him ſuch a thorough inſight into the laws of the land, that he paſſed for one of the greateſt maſters of his profeſſion, at his firſt appearance in it. Though he made a regular progreſs through the ſeveral honours of the long robe, he was always looked upon as one who deſerved a ſuperior ſtation to that he was poſſeſſed of; till he arrived at the higheſt dignity to which thoſe ſtudies could advance him.

He enjoyed in the higheſt perfection two talents, which do not often meet in the ſame perſon, the greateſt ſtrength of good ſenſe, and the moſt exquiſite taſte of politeneſs. Without the firſt, learning is but an incumbrance; and without the laſt, is ungraceful. My Lord *Somers* was maſter of theſe two qualifications in ſo eminent a degree, that all the parts of knowledge appeared in him with ſuch an additional ſtrength and beauty, as they want in the poſſeſſion of others. If he delivered his opinion of a piece of poetry, a ſtatue, or a picture, there was ſomething ſo juſt and delicate in his obſervations, as naturally produced pleaſure and aſſent in thoſe who heard him.

His ſolidity and elegance, improved by the reading of the fineſt Authors both of the learned and

and modern languages, diſcovered itſelf in all his productions. His oratory was maſculine and perſuaſive, free from every thing trivial and affected. His ſtile in writing was chaſte and pure, but at the ſame time full of ſpirit and politeneſs; and fit to convey the moſt intricate buſineſs to the underſtanding of the Reader, with the utmoſt clearneſs and perſpicuity. And here it is to be lamented, that this extraordinary perſon, out of his natural averſion to vain-glory, wrote ſeveral pieces as well as performed ſeveral actions, which he did not aſſume the honour of: Though at the ſame time ſo many works of this nature have appeared, which every one has aſcribed to him, that I believe no Author of the greateſt eminence would deny my Lord *Somers* to have been the beſt writer of the age in which he lived.

This noble Lord, for the great extent of his knowledge and capacity, has been often compared with the Lord *Verulam*, who had alſo been Chancellor of *England*. But the conduct of theſe two extraordinary perſons under the ſame circumſtances, was vaſtly different. They were both impeached by a houſe of commons. One of them, as he had given juſt occaſion for it, ſunk under it; and was reduced to ſuch an abject ſubmiſſion, as very much diminiſhed the luſtre of ſo exalted a character: But my Lord *Somers* was too well fortified in his integrity to fear the impotence of an attempt upon his reputation; and though his accuſers would gladly have dropped their impeachment, he was inſtant with them for the proſecution of it, and would not let that matter reſt till it was brought to an iſſue. For the ſame virtue and greatneſs of mind, which gave him a diſregard

diſregard of fame, made him impatient of an undeſerved reproach.

There is no queſtion but this wonderful man will make one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed figures in the hiſtory of the preſent age; but we cannot expect that his merit will ſhine out in its proper light, ſince he wrote many things which are not publiſhed in his name; was at the bottom of many excellent counſels, in which he did not appear; did offices of friendſhip to many perſons, who knew not from whom they were derived; and performed great ſervices to his country, the glory of which was transferred to others: In ſhort, ſince he made it his endeavour rather to do worthy actions than to gain an illuſtrious character.

N°40 Monday, May 7.

Urit enim fulgore ſuo qui prægravat artes
Infra ſe poſitas: extinctus amabitur idem.
Hor. Ep. 1. l. 2. ver. 13.

[IMITATED.]

Sure fate of all, beneath whoſe riſing ray
Each ſtar of meaner merit fades away!
Oppreſſed we feel the beam directly beat;
Thoſe ſuns of glory pleaſe not 'till they ſet.
POPE.

IT requires no ſmall degree of reſolution, to be an Author in a country ſo facetious and ſatirical as this of *Great-Britain*. Such a one raiſes

raiſes a kind of alarm among his fellow-ſubjects, and, by pretending to diſtinguiſh himſelf from the herd, becomes a mark of publick cenſure, and ſometimes a ſtanding object of rallery and ridicule. Writing is indeed a provocation to the envious and an affront to the ignorant. How often do we ſee a perſon, whoſe Intentions are viſibly to do good by the works which he publiſhes, treated in as ſcurrilous a manner, as if he were an enemy to mankind? All the little ſcramblers after fame fall upon him, publiſh every blot in his life, depend upon hear-ſay to defame him, and have recourſe to their own invention, rather than ſuffer him to erect himſelf into an Author with impunity. Even thoſe who write on the moſt indifferent ſubjects, and are converſant only in works of taſte, are looked upon as men that make a kind of inſult upon ſociety, and ought to be humbled as diſturbers of the publick tranquillity. Not only the dull and the malicious, which make a formidable party in our iſland, but the whole fraternity of writers riſe up in arms againſt every new intruder into the world of fame; and a thouſand to one, before they have done, prove him not only to be a fool, but a knave. Succeſsful Authors do what they can to exclude a competitor, while the unſucceſsful with as much eagerneſs lay in their claim to him as a brother. This natural antipathy to a man who breaks his ranks, and endeavours to ſignalize his parts in the world, has very probally hindered many perſons from making their appearance in print, who might have enriched our country with better productions in all kinds than any that are now extant. The truth of it is, the active part of mankind, as they do moſt for the good of their con-

contemporaries, very deſervedly gain the greateſt ſhare in their applauſes; while men of ſpeculative endowments, who employ their talents in writing, as they may equally benefit or amuſe ſucceeding ages, have generally the greateſt ſhare in the admiration of poſterity. Both good and bad writers may receive great ſatisfaction from the proſpects of futurity; as in after-ages the former will be remembered and the latter forgotten.

Among all ſets of Authors, there are none who draw upon themſelves more diſpleaſure, than thoſe who deal in political matters, which indeed it very often too juſtly incurred; conſidering that ſpirit of rancour and virulence, with which works of this nature generally abound. Theſe are not only regarded as Authors, but as partiſans, and are ſure to exaſperate at leaſt one half of their Readers. Other Writers offend only the ſtupid or jealous among their countrymen; but theſe, let their cauſe be never ſo juſt, muſt expect to irritate a ſupernumerary party of the ſelf-intereſted, prejudiced, and ambitious. They may however comfort themſelves with conſidering, that if they gain any unjuſt reproach from one ſide, they generally acquire more praiſe than they deſerve from the other; and that writings, of this kind, if conducted with candour and impartiality, have a more particular tendency to the good of their country, and of the preſent age, than any other compoſitions whatſoever.

To conſider an Author farther, as the ſubject of obloquy and detraction: We may obſerve with what pleaſure a work is received by the invidious part of mankind, in which a writer falls ſhort of himſelf, and does not anſwer

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the character which he has acquired by his former productions. It is a fine ſimile in one of Mr. *Congreve*'s prologues, which compares a writer to a buttering gameſter, that ſtakes all his winnings upon every caſt: So that if he loſes the laſt throw, he is ſure to be undone. It would be well for all Authors, if, like that gentleman, they knew when to give over, and to deſiſt from any farther purſuits after fame, while they are in the full poſſeſſion of it. On the other hand, there is not a more melancholy object in the learned world, than a man who has written himſelf down. As the publick is more diſpoſed to cenſure than to praiſe, his Readers will ridicule him for his laſt works, when they have forgot to applaud thoſe which preceded them. In this caſe, where a man has loſt his ſpirit by old age and infirmity, one could wiſh that his friends and relations would keep him from the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, if he is not to be reclaimed by any other methods.

The Author indeed often grows old before the man, eſpecially if he treats on ſubjects of invention, or ſuch as ariſe from reflexion upon human nature: For in this caſe, neither his own ſtrength of mind, nor thoſe parts of life which are commonly unobſerved, will furniſh him with ſufficient materials to be at the ſame time both pleaſing and voluminous. We find even in the outward dreſs of poetry, that men, who write much without taking breath, very often return to the ſame phraſes and forms of expreſſion, as well as to the ſame manner of thinking. Authors, who have thus drawn off the ſpirit of their thoughts, ſhould lie ſtill for ſome time, till their minds have gathered freſh ſtrength, and

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by reading, reflexion and converſation, laid in a new ſtock of elegancies, ſentiments, and images of nature. The ſoil, that is worn with too frequent culture, muſt lie fallow for a while, until it has recruited its exhauſted ſalts, and again enriched itſelf by the ventilations of the air, the dews of heaven, and the kindly influences of the ſun.

For my own part, notwithſtanding this general malevolence towards thoſe who communicate their thoughts in print, I cannot but look with a friendly regard on ſuch as do it, provided there is no tendency in their writings to vice and profaneneſs. If the thoughts of ſuch authors have nothing in them, they at leaſt do no harm, and ſhew an honeſt induſtry and a good intention in the compoſer. If they teach me any thing I did not know before, I cannot but look upon myſelf as obliged to the Writer and conſider him as my particular benefactor, if he conveys to me one of the greateſt gifts that is in the power of man to beſtow, an improvement of my underſtanding, an innocent amuſement, or an incentive to ſome moral virtue. Were not men of abilities thus communicative, their wiſdom would be in a great meaſure uſeleſs, and their experience uninſtructive. There would be no buſineſs in ſolitude, nor proper relaxations in buſineſs. By theſe Aſſiſtances, the retired man lives in the world, if not above it; paſſion is compoſed; thought hindered from being barren; and the mind from preying upon itſelf. That eſteem, indeed, which is paid to good writers by their poſterity, ſufficiently ſhews the merit of perſons who are thus employed. Who does not now more admire *Cicero* as an Author, than as a Conſul of *Rome!* And

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does not oftner talk of the celebrated Writers of our own country, who lived in former ages, than of any other particular perſons among their contemporaries and fellow ſubjects!

When I conſider myſelf as a *Britiſh* Free-holder, I am in a particular manner pleaſed with the labours of thoſe who have improved our language with the tranſlation of old *Latin* and *Greek* Authors, and by that means let us into the knowledge of what paſſed in the famous Governments of *Greece* and *Rome*. We have already moſt of their hiſtorians in our own tongue: And what is ſtill more for the honour of our language, it has been taught to expreſs with elegance the greateſt of their Poets in each nation. The illiterate among our countrymen may learn to judge from *Dryden*'s *Virgil* of the moſt perfect epic performance: And thoſe parts of *Homer*, which have already been publiſhed by Mr. *Pope*, give us reaſon to think that the *Iliad* will appear in *Engliſh* with as little diſadvantage to that immortal poem.

There is another Author, whom I have long wiſhed to ſee well tranſlated into *Engliſh*, as his work is filled with a ſpirit of liberty, and more directly tends to raiſe ſentiments of honour and virtue in his Reader, than any of the poetical writings of antiquity. I mean the *Pharſalia* of *Lucan*. This is the only author of conſideration among the *Latin* Poets, who was not explained for the uſe of the *Dauphin*, for a very obvious reaſon; becauſe the whole *Pharſalia* would have been no leſs than a ſatire upon the *French* form of government. The tranſlation of this Author is now in the hands of Mr. *Rowe*, who has already given the world ſome admirable ſpeci-

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mens of it; and not only kept up the fire of the original, but delivered the ſentiments with greater perſpicuity, and in a finer turn of phraſe and verſe.

As undertakings of ſo difficult a nature require the greateſt encouragements, one cannot but rejoice to ſee thoſe general ſubſcriptions which have been made to them; eſpecially ſince if the two works laſt mentioned are not finiſhed by thoſe maſterly hands, which are now employed in them, we may deſpair of ſeeing them attempted by others.

N°41 Friday, May 11.

Diſſentientis conditionibus
Fœdis, & exemplo trahenti
Perniciem veniens in ævum.
Hor. Od. 5. l. 3. ver. 14.

He ſcorn'd baſe terms that *Carthage* ſent;
Nor wou'd he e'er by his advice
Tempt future age to cowardiſe. CREECH.

AS the care of our national commerce redounds more to the riches and proſperity of the publick, than any other act of government, it is pity that we do not ſee the ſtate of it marked out in every particular reign with greater diſtinction and accuracy, than what is uſual among our *Engliſh* hiſtorians. We may however obſerve in general, that the beſt and wiſeſt of our monarchs have not been leſs induſtrious to extend their

their Trade, than their dominions; as it manifeſtly turns in a much higher degree to the welfare of the people, if not to the glory of the Sovereign.

The firſt of our Kings who carried our commerce, and conſequently our navigation to a very great height, was *Edward* the Third. This victorious Prince, by his many excellent laws for the encouragement of trade, enabled his ſubjects to ſupport him in his many glorious wars upon the continent, and turned the ſcale ſo much in favour of our *Engliſh* merchandiſe, that, by a balance of Trade taken in his time, the exported commodities amounted to two hundred ninety four thouſand pounds, and the imported but to thirty eight thouſand.

Thoſe of his ſucceſſors, under whoſe regulations our Trade flouriſhed moſt, were *Henry* the Seventh and Queen *Elizabeth*. As the firſt of theſe was for his great wiſdom very often ſtiled the *Engliſh Solomon*, he followed the example of that wiſe King in nothing more, than by advancing the Traffick of his people. By this means he reconciled to him the minds of his ſubjects, ſtrengthened himſelf in their affections, improved very much the navigation of the Kingdom, and repelled the frequent attempts of his enemies.

As for Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe had always the Trade of her kingdom very much at heart, and we may obſerve the effects of it through the whole courſe of her reign, in the love and obedience of her people, as well as in the defeats and diſappointments of her enemies.

It is with great pleaſure that we ſee our preſent Sovereign applying his thoughts ſo ſucceſsfully to the advancement of our Traffick, and conſider-

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ing himself as the King of a trading island. His Majesty has already gained very considerable advantages for his people, and is still employed in concerting schemes and forming treaties, for retrieving and enlarging our privileges in the world of commerce.

I shall only in this Paper take notice of the treaty concluded at *Madrid* on the 14th of *December* last, 1715; and by comparing it with that concluded at *Utrecht* on the 9th of *December*, 1713, shew several particulars in which the treaty made with his present Majesty is more advantageous to *Great-Britain*, than that which was made in the last reign; after this general observation, that it is equally surprising how so bad a treaty came to be made at the end of a glorious and successful war; and how so good a one has been obtained in the beginning of a Reign disturbed by such intestine commotions. But we may learn from hence, that the wisdom of a Sovereign, and the integrity of his ministers, are more necessary for bringing about works of such consequence for the publick good, than any juncture of time, or any other the most favourable circumstance.

We must here premise, that by the Treaty concluded at *Madrid* in 1667, the Duties of importation payable upon the manufactures and products of *Great-Britain*, amounted upon the established valuation in the *Spanish* book of rates, (after the deduction of the Gratia's, in *Andalusia* to $11\frac{1}{3}$ *per Cent.* in *Valentia* to 5 *per Cent.* and in *Catalonia* to about 7 *per Cent.* or less; and consequently upon the whole aforesaid trade, those duties could not exceed 10 *per Cent.* in a medium.

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After this ſhort account of the ſtate of our trade with *Spain*, before the Treaty of *Utrecht* under the late Queen, we muſt obſerve, that by the explanatory articles of this laſt mentioned Treaty, the duties of importation upon the products and manufactures of *Great-Britain* were augmented in *Andaluſia* to $27\frac{1}{5}$ *per Cent.* at a medium.

But by the late Treaty made with his preſent Majeſty at *Madrid*, the ſaid duties are again reduced according to the aforeſaid treaty of 1667: And the deduction of the gratia's is eſtabliſhed as an inviolable law, whereas, before, the gratia's of the farmers particularly were altogether precarious, and depended entirely upon courteſy.

That the common reader may underſtand the nature of theſe gratia's, he muſt know that when the King of *Spain* had laid higher duties upon our *Engliſh* goods, than what the merchants were able or willing to comply with, he uſed to abate a certain part: Which indulgence, or abatement, went under the name of a Gratia. But when he had farmed out theſe his cuſtoms to ſeveral of his ſubjects, the farmers, in order to draw more merchandiſe to their reſpective ports, and thereby to increaſe their own particular profits, uſed to make new abatements, or gratia's to the *Britiſh* merchants, endeavouring ſometimes to outvy one another in ſuch indulgences, and by that means to get a greater proportion of cuſtom into their own hands.

But to proceed: The duties on exportation may be computed to be raiſed by the *Utrecht* Treaty, near as much as the aforeſaid duties of importation: Whereas, by the Treaty made with his preſent Majeſty, they are reduced to their ancient ſtandard.

Complaint having been made, that the *Spaniards* after the ſuſpenſion of arms had taken ſeveral *New-England* and other *Britiſh* ſhips gathering Salt at the iſland of *Tertuga*, a very full and juſt report concerning that affair was laid before her late Majeſty, of which I ſhall give the reader the following extract:

" Your Majeſty's ſubjects have, from the firſt " ſettlement of the continent of *America*, had a " free acceſs to this iſland; and have without " interruptions, unleſs in time of war, uſed to " take what Salt they pleaſed there: And we " have proofs of that uſage for above fifty years, " as appears by certificates of perſons who have " been employed in that trade.

" It doth not appear, upon the ſtricteſt en- " quiry, that the *Spaniards* ever inhabited or " ſettled on the ſaid iſland; nor is it probable " they ever did, it being all either barren rock, " or dry ſand, and having no freſh water or pro- " viſions in it.

" We take leave to lay before your Majeſty, " the conſequence of your Majeſty's ſubjects " being prohibited to fetch Salt at *Tertuga*; which " will in part appear from the number of ſhips " uſing that trade, being, as we are informed, " one year with another about one hundred ſail.

" The ſalt carried from thence to *New-Eng-* " *land* is uſed chiefly for curing of fiſh, which is " either Cod, Scale-fiſh, or Mackrel: The for- " mer of which is the principal branch of the " returns made from the continent to *Great-* " *Britain* by way of *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the " *Straits*, for the woollen and other goods ſent " from this kingdom thither. Beſides which, " the Scale-Fiſh and Mackrel are of ſuch conſe- " quence, that the ſugar-iſlands cannot ſubſiſt

" without

" without them, their negroes being chiefly sup-
" ported by this fish: So that if they were not
" supplied therewith from *New-England*, (which
" they cannot be, if your Majesty's subjects
" are prohibited from getting Salt at *Tertuga*)
" they would not be able to carry on their sugar
" works. This hath been confirmed to us by
" several considerable planters concerned in those
" parts.

" Upon the whole, your Majesty's subjects
" having enjoyed an uninterrupted usage of ga-
" thering Salt at *Tertuga* ever since the first set-
" tlement of the continent as aforesaid, we hum-
" bly submit to your Majesty the consequence of
" preserving that usage and right upon which the
" trade of your Majesty's plantations so much
" depends."

Notwithstanding it appears from what is above-written, that our sugar-islands were like to suffer considerably for want of fish from *New-England*, no care was taken to have this matter remedied by the explanatory articles, which were posterior to the above-mentioned report.

However in the third article of the treaty made with his present Majesty, this business is fully settled to our advantage.

The *British* merchants having had several hardships put upon them at *Bilboa*, which occasioned the decay of our trade at that place, the said merchants did make and execute, in the year 1700, a treaty of privileges with the magistrates and inhabitants of St. *Ander*, very much to the advantage of this kingdom, in order to their removing and settling there: The effect of which was prevented by the death of King *Charles* the Second of *Spain*, and the war which

ſoon after enſued. This matter, it ſeems, was ſlighted or neglected by the managers of the *Utrecht* treaty: For, by the fourteenth article of that Treaty, there is only 'a liberty given to 'the *Britiſh* ſubjects to ſettle and dwell at St. '*Ander*, upon the terms of the ninth and thirtieth 'articles of the Treaty of 1667,' which are general. But no regard was had to the forementioned Treaty of privileges in 1700; whereas by the ſecond article of the Treaty now made with his preſent Majeſty, the forementioned Treaty of privileges with St. *Ander* is confirmed and ratified.

Another conſiderable advantage is, that the *French*, by the Treaty made with his preſent Majeſty, are to pay the ſame duties at the Dry-Ports, through which they paſs by land-carriage, as we pay upon importation or exportation by ſea; which was not provided for by the *Utrecht* Treaty.

By the ſchedulas annexed to the Treaty of 1667, the valuable privilege of having judge-conſervators (appointed to make a more ſpeedy and leſs expenſive determination of all controverſies ariſing in trade) was fully eſtabliſhed. But by the fifteenth article of *Utrecht* that privilege was in effect given up. For it is therein only ſtipulated, 'That in caſe any other nation have that 'privilege, we ſhall in like manner enjoy it.' But by the fifth article of the Treaty now made with his preſent Majeſty it is ſtipulated, that 'We ſhall enjoy all the rights, privileges, 'franchiſes, exemptions, and immunities what-'ſoever, which we enjoyed by virtue of the 'royal ſchedulas or ordinances by the Treaty 'of 1667.' So that hereby the privilege of judge-conſervators is again confirmed to us.

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As nothing but the reputation of his Majeſty in foreign countries, and of his fixed purpoſes to purſue the real good of his Kingdoms, could bring about treaties of this nature: So it is impoſſible to reflect with patience on the folly and ingratitude of thoſe men, who labour to diſturb him in the midſt of theſe his royal cares, and to miſrepreſent his generous endeavours for the good of his people.

N°42 Monday, May 14.

O fortunatos Mercatores!——

Hor. Sat. 1. l. 1. ver. 4.

Happy the Merchants!

SEveral Authors have written on the advantage of Trade in general; which is indeed ſo copious a ſubject, that as it is impoſſible to exhauſt it in a ſhort diſcourſe, ſo it is very difficult to obſerve any thing new upon it. I ſhall, therefore, only conſider Trade in this Paper, as it is abſolutely neceſſary and eſſential to the ſafety, ſtrength, and proſperity of our own nation.

In the firſt place, as we are an iſland accommodated on all ſides with convenient ports, and encompaſſed with navigable ſeas, we ſhould be inexcuſable, if we did not make theſe bleſſings of Providence and advantages of nature turn to their proper account. The moſt celebrated Merchants in the world, and thoſe who make the greateſt figure in antiquity, were

ſituated in the little iſland of *Tyre*, which, by the prodigious increaſe of its wealth and ſtrength at ſea, did very much influence the moſt conſiderable Kingdoms and Empires on the neighbouring continent, and gave birth to the *Carthaginians*, who afterwards exceeded all other nations in naval power. The old *Tyre* was indeed ſeated on the continent, from whence the inhabitants, after having been beſieged by the great King of *Aſſyria* for the ſpace of thirteen years, withdrew themſelves and their effects into the iſland of *Tyre*, where, by the benefit of ſuch a ſituation, a trading people were enabled to hold out for many ages againſt the attempts of their enemies, and became the Merchants of the world.

Farther; as an iſland, we are acceſſible on every ſide, and expoſed to perpetual invaſions; againſt which it is impoſſible to fortify ourſelves ſufficiently, without ſuch a power at ſea, as is not to be kept up, but by a people who flouriſh in commerce. To which we muſt add, that our inland towns being deſtitute of fortifications, it is our indiſpenſable concern to preſerve this our naval ſtrength, which is as a general bulwark to the *Britiſh* nation.

Beſides; as an iſland, it has not been thought agreeable to the true *Britiſh* policy to make acquiſitions upon the continent. In lieu, therefore, of ſuch an increaſe of dominion, it is our buſineſs to extend to the utmoſt our Trade and Navigation. By this means we reap the advantages of conqueſt, without violence or injuſtice; we not only ſtrengthen ourſelves, but gain the wealth of our neighbours in an honeſt way; and, without any act of hoſtility, lay the ſeveral nations of the world under a kind of contribution.

Secondly,

Secondly, Trade is fitted to the nature of our country, as it abounds with a great profuſion of commodities of its own growth very convenient for other countries, and is naturally deſtitute of many things ſuited to the exigencies, ornaments and pleaſures of life, which may be fetched from foreign parts. But, that which is more particularly to be remarked, our *Britiſh* Products are of ſuch kinds and quantities, as can turn the balance of Trade to our advantage, and enable us to ſell more to foreigners, than we have occaſion to buy from them.

To this we muſt add, that, by extending a well-regulated Trade, we are as great gainers by the commodities of many other countries, as by thoſe of our own nation; and, by ſupplying foreign markets with the growth and manufactures of the moſt diſtant regions, we receive the ſame profit from them, as if they were the produce of our own iſland.

Thirdly, We are not a little obliged to Trade, as it has been a great means of civilizing our nation, and baniſhing out of it all the remains of its ancient barbarity. There are many bitter ſayings againſt iſlanders in general, repreſenting them as fierce, treacherous, and inhoſpitable. Thoſe who live on the continent have ſuch opportunities of a frequent intercourſe with men of different religions and languages, and who live under different Laws and Governments, that they become more kind, benevolent, and open-hearted to their fellow-creatures, than thoſe who are the inhabitants of an iſland, that hath not ſuch converſations with the reſt of the ſpecies. *Cæſar*'s obſervation upon our forefathers is very much to our preſent purpoſe; who remarks, that thoſe

of them that lived upon the coaſt, or in ſea-port towns, were much more civilized, than thoſe who had their dwellings in the inland country, by reaſon of frequent communications with their neighbours on the continent.

In the laſt place; Trade is abſolutely neceſſary for us, as our country is very populous. It employs multitudes of hands both by ſea and land, and furniſhes the pooreſt of our fellow-ſubjects with the opportunities of gaining an honeſt livelihood. The ſkilful or induſtrious find their account in it: And many, who have no fixed property in the ſoil of our country, can make themſelves maſters of as conſiderable eſtates, as thoſe who have the greateſt portions of the land deſcending to them by inheritance.

If what has been often charged upon us by our neighbours has any truth in it, that we are prone to ſedition, and delight in change, there is no cure more proper for this evil than Trade, which thus ſupplies buſineſs to the active, and wealth to the indigent. When men are eaſy in their circumſtances, they are naturally enemies to innovations: And indeed we ſee in the courſe of our *Engliſh* hiſtories, many of our popular commotions have taken their riſe from the decay of ſome branch of commerce, which created diſcontents among perſons concerned in the manufactures of the Kingdom. When men are ſoured with poverty, and unemployed, they eaſily give into any proſpect of change, which may better their condition, and cannot make it much worſe.

Since therefore it is manifeſt, that the promoting of our Trade and Commerce is neceſſary and eſſential to our ſecurity and ſtrength, our peace and proſperity, it is our particular happineſs to

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ſee a monarch on the throne, who is ſenſible of the true intereſt of his Kingdoms, and applies himſelf with ſo much ſucceſs to the advancement of our national commerce.

The Reader may ſee in my laſt Paper, the advantages which his Majeſty has gained for us in our *Spaniſh* Trade. In this, I ſhall give a ſhort account of thoſe procured for us from the *Auſtrian* low-countries, by virtue of the 26th Article of the Barrier-Treaty made at *Antwerp* the 15th of *November* laſt.

This branch of our Trade was regulated by a *Tariff*, or Declaration of the duties of import and export in the year 1670, which was ſuperſeded by another made in 1680, that continued until this laſt *Tariff* ſettled in 1715 with his preſent Majeſty. As for the two former, thoſe who are at the pains of peruſing them will find the *Tariff* of 1670 laid higher duties on ſeveral conſiderable branches of our Trade, than that of 1680, but in many particulars was more favourable to us than the latter. Now, by the preſent *Tariff* of 1715, theſe duties are fixed and regulated for the future by thoſe which were moſt favourable in either of the former *Tariffs:* And all our products and manufactures (one only excepted, which I ſhall name by and by) ſettled upon rather an eaſier foot than ever.

Our woollen cloths, being the moſt profitable branch of our Trade into theſe countries, have by this means gained a very conſiderable advantage. For the *Tariff* of 1680 having laid higher duties upon the finer ſorts, and lower duties on ordinary cloth, than what were ſettled in the *Tariff* of 1670, his Majeſty has, by the preſent treaty, reduced the duties on the finer ſorts to the *Tariff* of 1670, and confirmed the duties on

ordinary cloth according to the *Tariff* of 1680. Insomuch that this present *Tariff* of 1715, considered with relation to this valuable part of our Trade, reduces the duties at least one sixth part, supposing the exportation of all sorts to be equal. But as there is always a much greater exportation of the ordinary cloth, than of the finer sorts, the reduction of these duties becomes still much more considerable.

We must farther observe, that there had been several innovations made to the detriment of the *English* Merchant since the *Tariff* of 1680; all which innovations are now entirely set aside upon every species of goods, except butter, which is here particularly mentioned, because we cannot be too minute and circumstantial in accounts of this nature. This article however is moderated, and is rated in proportion to what has been, and is still to be, paid by the *Dutch*.

As our commerce with the *Netherlands* is thus settled to the advantage of our *British* Merchants, so it is much to their satisfaction: And if his Majesty, in the several succeeding parts of his reign (which we hope may be many years prolonged) should advance our commerce in the same proportion as he has already done, we may expect to see it in a more flourishing condition, than under any of his royal ancestors. He seems to place his greatness in the riches and prosperity of his people; and what may we not hope from him in a time of quiet and tranquillity, since, during the late distractions, he has done so much for the advantage of our trade, when we could not reasonably expect he should have been able to do any thing?

Friday,

N°43 Friday, May 18.

Hoc fonte derivata clades,
In patriam populumque fluxit.
Hor. Od. 6. l. 3. ver. 19.

From this polluted head
Infectious ſtreams of crowding ſins began,
And thro' the ſpurious brood and guilty nation ran.
ROSCOMMON.

ONE would wonder how any perſon, endowed with the ordinary principles of prudence and humanity, ſhould deſire to be King of a country, in which the eſtabliſhed religion is directly oppoſite to that which he himſelf profeſſes. Were it poſſible for ſuch a one to accompliſh his deſigns, his own reaſon muſt tell him, there could not be a more uneaſy Prince, nor a more unhappy people. But how can it enter into the wiſhes of any private perſons to be the ſubjects of a man, whoſe faith obliges him to uſe the moſt effectual means for extirpating their religion, is altogether incomprehenſible, but upon the ſuppoſition that, whatever principles they ſeem to adhere to, their intereſt, ambition, or revenge, is much more active and predominant in their minds, than the love of their country, or of its national worſhip.

I have never heard of any one particular benefit, which either the Pretender himſelf, or the favourers of his cauſe, could promiſe to the *Britiſh* nation from the ſucceſs of his pretenſions; though the

the evils, which would ariſe from it, are numberleſs and evident. Theſe men content themſelves with one general aſſertion which often appears in their writings, and in their diſcourſe; that the kingdom will never be quiet until he is upon the throne. If by this poſition is meant, that thoſe will never be quiet who would endeavour to place him there, it may poſſibly have ſome truth in it; though we hope even theſe will be reduced to their obedience by the care of their ſafety, if not by the ſenſe of their duty. But on the other ſide, how ineffectual would this ſtrange expedient be for eſtabliſhing the publick quiet and tranquillity, ſhould it ever take place! for, by way of argument, we may ſuppoſe impoſſibilities. Would that party of men which comprehends the moſt wealthy, and the moſt valiant, of the kingdom, and which, were the cauſe put to a trial, would undoubtedly appear the moſt numerous, (for I am far from thinking all thoſe, who are diſtinguiſhed by the name of Tories, to be favourers of the Pretender) can we, I ſay, ſuppoſe theſe men would live quiet under a reign which they have hitherto oppoſed, and from which they apprehend ſuch a manifeſt deſtruction to their country? Can we ſuppoſe our preſent Royal Family, who are ſo powerful in foreign dominions, ſo ſtrong in their relations and alliances, and ſo univerſally ſupported by the Proteſtant intereſt of *Europe*, would continue quiet, and not make vigorous and repeated attempts for the recovery of their right, ſhould it ever be wreſted out of their hands? Can we imagine that our *Britiſh* Clergy would be quiet under a Prince, who is zealous for his religion, and obliged by it to ſubvert thoſe doctrines, which it is their duty to defend and propagate? nay,

ray, would any of thoſe men themſelves, who are the champions of this deſperate cauſe, unleſs ſuch of them as are profeſſed Roman-catholicks or diſpoſed to be ſo, live quiet under a government which at the beſt would make uſe of all indirect methods in favour of a religion, that is inconſiſtent with our laws and liberties, and would impoſe on us ſuch a yoke, as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? All the quiet, that could be expected from ſuch a reign, muſt be the reſult of abſolute power on the one hand, and a deſpicable ſlavery on the other: And I believe every reaſonable man will be of the *Roman* hiſtorian's opinion, that a diſturbed liberty is better than a quiet ſervitude.

There is not indeed a greater abſurdity than to imagine the quiet of a nation can ariſe from an eſtabliſhment, in which the King would be of one communion, and the people of another; eſpecially, when the religion of the Sovereign carries in it the utmoſt malignity to that of the ſubject. If any of our *Engliſh* Monarchs might have hoped to reign quietly under ſuch circumſtances, it would have been King *Charles* the Second who was received with all the joy and good-will that are natural to a people, newly reſcued from a tyranny which had long oppreſſed them in ſeveral ſhapes. But this Monarch was too wiſe to own himſelf a Roman-Catholick, even in that juncture of time; or to imagine it practicable for an avowed Popiſh Prince to govern a Proteſtant people. His brother tried the experiment, and every one knows the ſucceſs of it.

As ſpeculations are beſt ſupported by facts, I ſhall add to theſe domeſtick examples one or two

two parallel inſtances out of the *Swediſh* hiſtory, which may be ſufficient to ſhew us, that a ſcheme of Government is impracticable, in which the head does not agree with the body, in that point, which is of the greateſt concern to reaſonable creatures. *Sweden* is the only Proteſtant kingdom in *Europe*, beſides this of *Great-Britain*, which has had the misfortune to ſee Popiſh Princes upon the throne; and we find, that they behaved themſelves as we did, and as it is natural for men to do, upon the ſame occaſion. Their King *Sigiſmond* having, contrary to the inclinations of his people, endeavoured by ſeveral clandeſtine methods, to promote the Roman-catholick religion among his ſubjects, and ſhewn ſeveral marks of favour to their prieſts and jeſuits, was, after a very ſhort reign, depoſed by the States of that kingdom, being repreſented as one who could neither be held by oaths nor promiſes, and over-ruled by the influence of his religion, which diſpenſes with the violation of the moſt ſacred engagements that are oppoſite to its intereſts. The ſtates, to ſhew farther their apprehenſions of popery, and how incompatible they thought the principles of the church of *Rome* in a Sovereign were with thoſe of the reformed religion in his ſubjects, agreed that his ſon ſhould ſucceed to the throne, provided he were brought up a Proteſtant. This the father ſeemingly complied with; but afterwards refuſing to give him ſuch an education, the ſon was likewiſe ſet aſide, and for ever excluded from that ſucceſſion. The famous Queen *Chriſtina*, daughter to the great *Guſtavus*, was ſo ſenſible of thoſe troubles which would accrue both to herſelf and her people, ſhould ſhe avow the Roman-Catholick religion

religion while ſhe was upon the throne of *Sweden*; that ſhe did not make an open profeſſion of that faith, until ſhe had reſigned her crown, and was actually upon her journey to *Rome*.

In ſhort, if there be any political maxim, which may be depended upon as ſure and infallible, this is one; that it is impoſſible for a nation to be happy, where a people of the reformed religion are governed by a King that is a papiſt. Were he indeed only a nominal Roman-catholick, there might be a poſſibility of peace and quiet under ſuch a reign; but if he is ſincere in the principles of his church, he muſt treat heretical ſubjects as that church directs him, and knows very well, that he ceaſes to be religious, when he ceaſes to be a proſecutor.

N°44 Monday, May 21.

Multaque præterea variarum monſtra ferarum
Centauri in foribus ſtabulant ſcyllæque biformes,
Et centum-geminus Briareus, ac bellua lernæ
Horrendum ſtridens, flammiſque armata Chimæra,
Gorgones, Harpyæque, et forma tricorporis umbræ.
Corripit hic ſubitâ trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, ſtrictamque aciem venientibus offert.
Et, ni docta comes tenues ſine corpore vitas
Admoneat volitare cavâ ſub imagine formæ,
Irruat, et fruſtra ferro diverberet umbras.

Virg. Æn. 6. ver. 285.

Of various forms unnumber'd ſpectres more;
Centaurs, and double ſhapes, beſiege the door:
Before the paſſage horrid *Hydra* ſtands,
And *Briareus* with all his hundred hands:
Gorgons, *Geryon* with his triple frame;
And vain *Chimæras* vomit empty flame.
The chief unſheath'd his ſhining ſteel, prepar'd
Tho' ſeiz'd with ſudden fear, to force the guard,
Off'ring his brandiſh'd weapon at their face;
Had not the *Sibyl* ſtopp'd his eager pace,
And told him what thoſe empty fantoms were,
Forms without bodies, and impaſſive air.

DRYDEN.

AS I was laſt *Friday* taking a walk in the park, I ſaw a country Gentleman at the ſide of *Roſamond*'s pond, pulling a handful of oats out of his pocket, and with a great deal of pleaſure gathering the ducks about him. Upon my coming up to him, who ſhould it be but

but my friend the Fox-hunter, whom I gave ſome account of in my twenty-ſecond Paper! I immediately joined him, and partook of his diverſion, until he had not an oat left in his pocket. We then made the tour of the Park together, when after having entertained me with the deſcription of a decoy pond that lay near his ſeat in the country, and of a meeting-houſe that was going to be re-built in a neighbouring market-town, he gave me an account of ſome very odd adventures which he had met with that morning; and which I ſhall lay together in a ſhort and faithful hiſtory, as well as my memory will give me leave.

My friend, who has a natural averſion to *London*, would never have come up, had not he been ſubpœned to it, as he told me, in order to give his teſtimony for one of the rebels, whom he knew to be a very fair ſportſman. Having travelled all night, to avoid the inconveniences of duſt and heat, he arrived with his guide, a little after break of day, at *Charing-Croſs*; where, to his great ſurpriſe, he ſaw a running footman carried in a chair, followed by a waterman in the ſame kind of vehicle. He was wondering at the extravagance of their maſters, that furniſhed them with ſuch dreſſes and accommodations, when on a ſudden he beheld a chimney-ſweeper, conveyed after the ſame manner, with three footmen running before him. During his progreſs through the *Strand*, he met with ſeveral other figures no leſs wonderful and ſurpriſing. Seeing a great many in rich morning-gowns, he was amazed to find that perſons of Quality were up ſo early: And was no leſs aſtoniſhed to ſee many lawyers in their bar-gowns, when he knew by his alma-

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nack that term was ended. As he was extremely puzzled and confounded in himself what all this would mean, a hackney-coach chancing to pass by him, four Batts popped out their heads all at once, which very much frighted both him and his horse. My friend, who always takes care to cure his horse of such starting fits, spurred him up to the very side of the coach, to the no small diversion of the Batts; who, seeing him with his long whip, horse-hair periwig, jockey-belt, and coat without sleeves, fancied him to be one of the masqueraders on horseback, and received him with a loud peal of laughter. His mind being full of idle stories, which are spread up and down the nation by the disaffected, he immediately concluded that all the persons he saw in these strange habits were foreigners, and received a great indignation against them, for pretending to laugh at an *English* country Gentleman. But he soon recovered out of his error, by hearing the voices of several of them, and particularly of a shepherdess quarrelling with her coachman, and threatning to break his bones in very intelligible *English*, though with a masculine tone. His astonishment still increased upon him, to see a continued procession of harlequins, scaramouches, punchinello's, and a thousand other merry dresses, by which people of Quality distinguish their wit from that of the vulgar.

Being now advanced as far as *Somerset-House*, and observing it to be the great hive whence this swarm of chimeras issued forth from time to time, my friend took his station among a cluster of mob, who were making themselves merry with their betters. The first that came out, was a very venerable matron, with a nose

and

and chin, that were within a very little of touching one another. My friend, at the firſt view fancying her to be an old woman of Quality, out of his good-breeding put off his hat to her, when the perſon pulling off his maſk, to his great ſurpriſe, appeared a ſmock-faced young fellow. His attention was ſoon taken off from this object, and turned to another that had very hollow eyes and a wrinkled face, which flouriſhed in all the bloom of fifteen. The whiteneſs of the lily was blended in it with the bluſh of the roſe. He miſtook it for a very whimſical kind of maſk; but upon a nearer view he found that ſhe held her vizard in her hand, and that what he ſaw was only her natural countenance, touched up with the uſual improvements of an aged coquette.

The next who ſhewed herſelf was a female quaker, ſo very pretty, that he could not forbear licking his lips, and ſaying to the mob about him, 'It is ten thouſand pities ſhe is not a church-'woman.' The quaker was followed by half a dozen nuns, who filed off one after another up *Catharine-Street*, to the reſpective convents in *Drury-Lane*.

The Eſquire obſerving the preciſeneſs of their dreſs, began now to imagine after all, that this was a neſt of ſectaries; for he had often heard that the town was full of them. He was confirmed in this opinion upon ſeeing a conjurer, whom he gueſſed to be the holderforth. However, to ſatisfy himſelf, he asked a porter, who ſtood next him, what religion theſe people were of? The porter replied, 'They are of no re-'ligion; it is a maſquerade.' Upon that, ſays my friend, I began to ſmoke that they were a parcel of mummers; and being himſelf one of

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the quorum in his own country, could not but wonder that none of the *Middlesex* Justices took care to lay some of them by the heels. He was the more provoked in the spirit of magistracy, upon discovering two very unseemly objects: The first was a judge, who rapped out a great oath at his footman; and the other a big-bellied woman, who, upon taking a leap into the coach, miscarried of a cushion. What still gave him greater offence was a drunken Bishop, who reeled from one side of the court to the other, and was very sweet upon an *Indian* Queen. But his worship, in the midst of his austerity, was mollified at the sight of a very lovely milk-maid, whom he began to regard with an eye of mercy, and conceived a particular affection for her, until he found to his great amazement, that the standers-by suspected her to be a Dutchess.

I must not conclude this narrative without mentioning one disaster which happened to my friend on this occasion. Having for his better convenience dismounted, and mixed among the crowd, he found upon his arrival at the inn, that he had lost his purse and his almanack. And though it is no wonder such a trick should be played him by some of the curious spectators, he cannot beat it out of his head, but that it was a cardinal who picked his pocket, and that this cardinal was a Presbyterian in disguise.

Friday,

N°45 Friday, May 25.

Nimium riſus pretium eſt ſi probitatis impendio conſtat.
Quintil.

Laughter is bought too dear, if it be at the expence of honeſty.

I Have lately read, with much pleaſure, the Eſſays upon ſeveral ſubjects publiſhed by Sir *Richard Blackmore*; and though I agree with him in many of his excellent obſervations, I cannot but take that reaſonable freedom, which he himſelf makes uſe of, with regard to other writers, to diſſent from him in ſome few particulars. In his reflexions upon works of wit and humour, he obſerves how unequal they are to combate vice and folly; and ſeems to think, that the fineſt rallery and ſatire, though directed by theſe generous views, never reclaimed one vicious man, or made one fool depart from his folly.

This is a poſition very hard to be contradicted, becauſe no Author knows the number or names of his converts. As for the Tatlers and Spectators in particular, which are obliged to this ingenious and uſeful Author for the character he has given of them, they were ſo generally diſperſed in ſingle ſheets, and have ſince been printed in ſo great numbers, that it is to be hoped they have made ſome proſelytes to the intereſts, if not to the practice of wiſdom and virtue, among ſuch a multitude of readers.

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I need not remind this learned Gentleman, that *Socrates*, who was the greateſt propagator of morality in the heathen world, and a martyr for the unity of the godhead, was ſo famous for the exerciſe of this talent among the politeſt people of antiquity, that he gained the name of (ὁ Εἴρων) the Drole.

There are very good effects which viſibly aroſe from the above-mentioned performances and others of the like nature; as, in the firſt place, they diverted rallery from improper objects, and gave a new turn to ridicule, which for many years had been exerted on perſons and things of a ſacred and ſerious nature. They endeavoured to make mirth inſtructive, and, if they failed in this great end, they muſt be allowed at leaſt to have made it innocent. If wit and humour begin again to relapſe into their former licentiouſneſs, they can never hope for approbation from thoſe who know that rallery is uſeleſs when it has no moral under it, and pernicious when it attacks any thing that is either unblameable or praiſe-worthy. To this we may add, what has been commonly obſerved, that it is not difficult to be merry on the ſide of vice, as ſerious objects are the moſt capable of ridicule; as the party, which naturally favour ſuch a mirth, is the moſt numerous; and as there are the moſt ſtanding jeſts and patterns for imitation in this kind of writing.

In the next place: Such productions of wit and humour, as have a tendency to expoſe vice and folly, furniſh uſeful diverſions to all kinds of readers. The good or prudent man may, by theſe means, be diverted without prejudice to his diſcretion, or morality. Rallery, under ſuch regulations, unbends the mind from ſerious ſtudies

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and ſeverer contemplations, without throwing it off from its proper bias. It carries on the ſame deſign that is promoted by Authors of a grave turn, and only does it in another manner. It alſo awakens reflexion in thoſe who are the moſt indifferent in the cauſe of virtue or knowledge, by ſetting before them the abſurdity of ſuch practices as are generally unobſerved, by reaſon of their being common or faſhionable: nay, it ſometimes catches the diſſolute and abandoned before they are aware of it: who are often betrayed to laugh at themſelves, and upon reflexion find, that they are merry at their own expence. I might farther take notice, that by entertainments of this kind, a man may be chearful in ſolitude, and not be forced to ſeek for company every time he has a mind to be merry.

The laſt advantage I ſhall mention from compoſitions of this nature when thus reſtrained, is, that they ſhew wiſdom and virtue are far from being inconſiſtent with politeneſs and good humour. They make morality appear amiable to people of gay diſpoſitions, and refute the common objection againſt Religion, which repreſents it as only fit for gloomy and melancholy tempers. It was the motto of a Biſhop very eminent for his piety and good works in King *Charles* the Second's reign, *Inſervi Deo & lætare*, "Serve God and be "chearful." Thoſe therefore who ſupply the world with ſuch entertainments of mirth as are inſtructive, or at leaſt harmleſs, may be thought to deſerve well of mankind; to which I ſhall only add, that they retrieve the honour of polite learning, and anſwer thoſe four enthuſiaſts who affect to ſtigmatize the fineſt and

moſt

moſt elegant Authors, both ancient and modern, (which they have never read) as dangerous to Religion, and deſtructive of all ſound and ſaving knowledge.

Our nation are ſuch lovers of mirth and humour, that it is impoſſible for detached papers, which come out on ſtated days, either to have a general run, or long continuance, if they are not diverſified and enlivened from time to time, with ſubjects and thoughts, accommodated to this taſte, which ſo prevails among our countrymen. No periodical Author, who always maintains his gravity, and does not ſometimes ſacrifice to the graces, muſt expect to keep in vogue for any conſiderable time. Political ſpeculations in particular, however juſt and important, are of ſo dry and auſtere a nature, that they will not go down with the publick without frequent ſeaſonings of this kind. The work may be well performed, but will never take, if it is not ſet off with proper ſcenes and decorations. A mere politician is but a dull companion, and, if he is always wiſe, is in great danger of being tireſom or ridiculous.

Beſides, papers of entertainment are neceſſary to increaſe the number of readers, eſpecially among thoſe of different notions and principles; who by this means may be betrayed to give you a fair hearing, and to know what you have to ſay for yourſelf. I might likewiſe obſerve, that in all political writings there is ſomething that grates upon the mind of the moſt candid reader, in opinions which are not conformable to his own way of thinking; and that the harſhneſs of reaſoning is not a little ſoftened and ſmoothed by the infuſions of mirth and pleaſantry.

Poli-

Political Speculations do likewiſe furniſh us with ſeveral objects that may very innocently be ridiculed, and which are regarded as ſuch by men of ſenſe in all parties; of this kind are the paſſions of our ſtates-women, and the reaſonings of our Fox-hunters.

A writer who makes fame the chief end of his endeavours, and would be more deſirous of pleaſing than of improving his readers, might find an inexhauſtible fund of mirth in politicks. Scandal and ſatire are never-failing gratifications to the publick. Detraction and obloquy are received with as much eagerneſs as wit and humour. Should a writer ſingle out particular perſons, or point his rallery at any order of men, who by their profeſſion ought to be exempt from it; ſhould he ſlander the innocent, or ſatirize the miſerable; or ſhould he, even on the proper ſubjects of deriſion, give the full play to his mirth, without regard to decency and good-manners; he might be ſure of pleaſing a great part of his readers, but muſt be a very ill man, if by ſuch a proceeding he could pleaſe himſelf.

N° 46 Monday, May 28.

——————malè ominatis
Parcite verbis:
Hic dies, verè mihi festus, atras
Eximet curas; ego nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Cæsare terras.
Hor. Od. 14. lib. 3. ver. 11.

Let fall no inauspicious word:
This day, to me a real feast,
Black cares shall banish for my breast;
I'll fear no tumult, fear no pains,
Nor violent death, while Cæsar reigns CREECH.

THE usual salutation to a man upon his birth-day among the ancient *Romans* was *Multos et Felices*; in which they wished him many happy returns of it. When *Augustus* celebrated the secular year, which was kept but once in a century, and received the congratulations of his people on that account, an eminent court-wit saluted him in the Birth-day form (*Multos et Felices*) which is recorded as a beautiful turn of compliment, expressing a desire that he might enjoy a happy life of many hundreds of years. This salutation cannot be taxed with flattery, since it was directed to a Prince, of whom it is said by a great historian, 'It had been happy for *Rome*, if he had never been 'born, or if he had never died.' Had he never been born, *Rome* would, in all probability, have recovered its former liberty: Had he never died, it would have been more happy under his government,

ment, than it could have been in the poſſeſſion of its ancient freedom.

It is our good fortune that our Sovereign, whoſe nativity is celebrated on this day, gives us a proſpect, which the *Romans* wanted under the reign of their *Auguſtus*, of his being ſucceeded by an heir, both to his virtues and his dominions. In the mean time it happens very luckily, for the eſtabliſhment of a new race of Kings upon the *Britiſh* throne, that the firſt of this Royal line has all thoſe high qualifications which are neeeſſary to fix the crown upon his own head, and to tranſmit it to his poſterity. We may indeed obſerve, that every ſeries of Kings who have kept up the ſucceſſion in their reſpective families, in ſpite of all pretenſions and oppoſitions formed againſt them, has been headed by Princes famous for valour and wiſdom. I need only mention the names of *William the Conqueror*, *Henry* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, *Edward* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Seventh. As for King *James* the Firſt, the founder of the *Stuart* race, had he been as well turned for the camp, as the cabinet, and not confined all his views to the peace and tranquillity of his own reign, his ſon had not been involved in ſuch fatal troubles and confuſions.

Were an honeſt *Briton* to wiſh for a Sovereign, who in the preſent ſituation of affairs would be moſt capable of advancing our national happineſs, what could he deſire more than a Prince mature in wiſdom and experience; renowned for his valour and reſolution; ſucceſsful and fortunate in his undertakings; zealous for the reformed religion; related or allied to all the moſt conſiderable Proteſtant powers of *Europe*; and bleſt with a numerous iſſue! A failure in any

one of theſe particulars has been the cauſe of infinite calamities to the *Britiſh* nation; but when they all thus happily concur in the ſame perſon, they are as much as can be ſuggeſted, even by our wiſhes, for making us a happy people, ſo far as the qualifications of a Monarch can contribute to it.

I ſhall not attempt a character of his preſent Majeſty, having already given an imperfect ſketch of it in my ſecond Paper; but ſhall chooſe rather to obſerve that cruel treatment which this excellent Prince has met with from the tongues and pens of ſome of his diſaffected ſubjects. The baſeneſs, ingratitude, and injuſtice of which practice will appear to us, if we conſider,

Firſt, that it reflects highly upon the good-ſenſe of the *Britiſh* nation, who do not know how to ſet a juſt value upon a Prince, whoſe virtues have gained him the univerſal eſteem of foreign countries. Thoſe potentates who, as ſome may ſuppoſe, do not wiſh well to his affairs, have ſhewn the greateſt reſpect to his perſonal character, and teſtified their readineſs to enter into ſuch friendſhips and alliances as may be advantageous to his people. The northern Kings ſolicit him with impatience to come among them, as the only perſon capable of ſettling the ſeveral claims and pretenſions, which have produced ſuch unſpeakable calamities in that part of the World. Two of the moſt remote and formidable powers of *Europe* have entertained thoughts of ſubmitting their diſputes to his arbitration. Every one knows his ancient ſubjects had ſuch a long experience of his Sovereign virtues, that at his departure from them his whole people were in tears; which were anſwered with all thoſe ſentiments of humanity, that

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ariſe in the heart of a good Prince on ſo moving an occaſion. What a figure therefore muſt we make among mankind, if we are the only people of *Europe* who derogate from his merit, that may be made happy by it! and if in a Kingdom which is grown glorious by the reputation of ſuch a Sovereign, there are multitudes who would endeavour to leſſen and undervalue it.

In the next place; ſuch a treatment from any part of our fellow-ſubjects is by no means anſwerable to what we receive from his Majeſty. His love and regard for our conſtitution is ſo remarkable, that, as we are told by thoſe whoſe office it is to lay the buſineſs of the nation before him, it is the firſt queſtion, upon any matter of the leaſt doubt or difficulty, whether it be in every point according to the laws of the land? He is eaſy of acceſs to thoſe who deſire it, and is ſo gracious in his behaviour and condeſcenſion on ſuch occaſions, that none of his ſubjects retire from his preſence without the greateſt idea of his wiſdom and goodneſs. His continued application to ſuch publick affairs, as may conduce to the benefit of his Kingdoms, diverts him from thoſe pleaſures and entertainments which may be indulged by perſons in a lower ſtation, and are purſued with eagerneſs by Princes who have not the care of the publick ſo much at heart. The leaſt return, which we can make to ſuch a Sovereign, is that tribute which is always paid by honeſt men, and is always acceptable to great minds, the praiſe and approbation that are due to a virtuous and noble character. Common decency forbids opprobrious language, even to a bad Prince; and common juſtice will exact from us, towards a good Prince, the ſame benevolence and humanity

with which he treats his ſubjects. Thoſe, who are influenced by duty and gratitude, will riſe much higher in all the expreſſions of affection and reſpect, and think they can never do too much to advance the glory of a Sovereign, who takes ſo much pains to advance their happineſs.

When we have a King, who has gained the reputation of the moſt unblemiſhed probity and honour, and has been famed, through the whole courſe of his life, for an inviolable adherence to his promiſes, we may acquieſce (after his many ſolemn declarations) in all thoſe meaſures which it is impoſſible for us to judge rightly of, unleſs we were let into ſuch ſchemes of council and intelligence as produce them; and therefore we ſhould rather turn our thoughts upon the reaſonableneſs of his proceedings, than buſy ourſelves to form objections againſt them. The conſideration of his Majeſty's character ſhould at all times ſuppreſs our cenſure of his conduct: And ſince we have never yet ſeen, or heard of any falſe ſteps in his behaviour, we ought in juſtice to think, that he governs himſelf by his uſual rules of wiſdom and honour, until we diſcover ſomething to the contrary.

Theſe conſiderations ought to reconcile to his Majeſty the hearts and tongues of all his people: But as for thoſe who are the obſtinate, irreclaimable, profeſſed Enemies to our preſent eſtabliſhment, we muſt expect their calumnies will not only continue, but riſe againſt him in proportion as he purſues ſuch meaſures as are likely to prove ſucceſsful, and ought to recommend him to his people.

Friday,

N°47 Friday, June 1.

———*ceſſit furor, et rabida ora quierunt.*
Virg. Æn. 6. ver. 102.

Ceas'd is his fury, and he foams no more.

I Queſtion not but moſt of my readers will be very well pleaſed to hear, that my friend the Fox-hunter, of whoſe arrival in town I gave notice in my forty-fourth Paper, is become a convert to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and a good ſubject to King GEORGE. The motives to his converſion ſhall be the ſubject of this Paper, as they may be of uſe to other perſons who labour under thoſe prejudices and prepoſſeſſions, which hung ſo long upon the mind of my worthy friend. Theſe I had an opportunity of learning the other day when, at his requeſt, we took a ramble together to ſee the curioſities of this great town.

The firſt circumſtance, as he ingenuouſly confeſſed to me (while we were in the coach together) which helped to diſabuſe him, was ſeeing King *Charles* the Firſt on horſeback, at *Charing-Croſs*; for he was ſure that Prince could never have kept his ſeat there, had the ſtories been true he had heard in the country, that Forty-one was come about again.

He owned to me that he looked with horror on the new church that is half built in the *Strand*, as taking it at firſt ſight to be half demoliſhed: But upon enquiring of the workmen, was agreeably ſurpriſed to find, that inſtead of pulling

it down, they were building it up; and that fifty more were raiſing in other parts of the town.

To theſe I muſt add a third circumſtance, which I find had no ſmall ſhare in my friend's converſion. Since his coming to town, he chanced to look into the church of St. *Paul*, about the middle of ſermon-time, where having firſt examined the dome, to ſee if it ſtood ſafe, (for the ſcrew-plot ſtill ran in his head) he obſerved, that the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and city-ſword were a part of the congregation. This ſight had the more weight with him, as by good luck not above two of that venerable body were fallen aſleep.

This diſcourſe held us until we came to the Tower; for our firſt viſit was to the lions. My friend, who had a great deal of talk with their keeper, enquired very much after their health, and whether none of them had fallen ſick upon the taking of *Perth*, and the flight of the *Pretender?* and hearing they were never better in their lives, I found he was extremely ſtartled: For he had learned from his cradle, that the lions in the tower were the beſt judges of the title of our *Britiſh* Kings, and always ſympathized with our Sovereigns.

After having here ſatiated our curioſity, we repaired to the Monument, where my fellow-traveller, being a well-breathed man, mounted the aſcent with much ſpeed and activity. I was forced to halt ſo often in this perpendicular march, that, upon my joining him on the top of the pillar, I found he had counted all the ſteeples and towers which were diſcernible from this advantageous ſituation, and was endeavouring to compute the number of acres they ſtood upon. We were both of us very well pleaſed

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with this part of the proſpect; but I found he caſt an evil eye upon ſeveral ware-houſes, and other buildings, that looked like barns, and ſeemed capable of receiving great multitudes of people. His heart miſgave him that theſe were ſo many meeting-houſes, but, upon communicating his ſuſpicions to me, I ſoon made him eaſy in this particular.

We then turned our eyes upon the river, which gave me an occaſion to inſpire him with ſome favourable thoughts of trade and merchandize, that had filled the *Thames* with ſuch crowds of ſhips, and covered the ſhore with ſuch ſwarms of people.

We deſcended very leiſurely, my friend being careful to count the ſteps, which he regiſtered in a blank leaf of his new almanack. Upon our coming to the bottom, obſerving an *Engliſh* inſcription upon the baſis, he read it over ſeveral times, and told me he could ſcarce believe his own eyes, for that he had often heard from an old Attorney, who lived near him in the country, that it was the preſbyterians who burned down the city; whereas, ſays he, the pillar poſitively affirms in ſo many words, that 'the burning of 'this ancient city was begun and carried on by 'the treachery and malice of the popiſh faction, 'in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for 'extirpating the Proteſtant Religion, and old '*Engliſh* liberty, and introducing popery and ſla-'very.' This account, which he looked upon to be more authentic, than if it had been in print, I found, made a very great impreſſion upon him.

We now took coach again, and made the beſt of our way for the *Royal Exchange*, though I found he did not much care to venture himſelf into the throng of that place; for he told me he

he had heard they were, generally ſpeaking, republicans, and was afraid of having his pocket picked amongſt them. But he ſoon conceived a better opinion of them, when he ſpied the ſtatue of King *Charles* the Second ſtanding up in the middle of the crowd, and moſt of the Kings in *Baker*'s Chronicle ranged in order over their heads; from whence he very juſtly concluded, that an antimonarchical aſſembly could never chooſe ſuch a place to meet in once a day.

To continue this good diſpoſition in my friend, after a ſhort ſtay at *Stocks-market*, we drove away directly for the *Meuſe*, where he was not a little edified with the ſight of thoſe fine ſets of horſes which have been brought over from *Hanover*, and with the care that is taken of them. He made many good remarks upon this occaſion, and was ſo pleaſed with his company, that I had much ado to get him out of the ſtable.

In our progreſs to St. *James*'s-*Park* (for that was the end of our journey) he took notice, with great ſatisfaction, that, contrary to his intelligence in the country, the ſhops were all open and full of buſineſs; that the ſoldiers walked civilly in the ſtreets; that clergymen, inſtead of being affronted, had generally the wall given them; and that he had heard the bells ring to prayers from morning to night, in ſome part of the town or another.

As he was full of theſe honeſt reflexions, it happened very luckily for us, that one of the King's coaches paſſed by with the three young Princeſſes in it, whom by an accidental ſtop we had an opportunity of ſurveying for ſome time: My friend was raviſhed with the beauty, innocence, and ſweetneſs, that appeared in all their faces. He declared ſeveral times that they were

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the fineſt children he had ever ſeen in all his life; and aſſured me that, before this ſight, if any one had told him it had been poſſible for three ſuch pretty children to have been born out of *England*, he ſhould never have believed them.

We were now walking together in the Park, and, as it is uſual for men who are naturally warm and heady, to be tranſported with the greateſt fluſh of good-nature when they are once ſweetned, he owned to me very frankly, he had been much impoſed upon by thoſe falſe accounts of things he had heard in the country; and that he would make it his buſineſs, upon his return thither, to ſet his neighbours right, and give them a more juſt notion of the preſent ſtate of affairs.

What confirmed my friend in this excellent temper of mind, and gave him an inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, was a meſſage he received, as we were walking together, from the priſoner for whom he had given his teſtimony in his late trial. This perſon, having been condemned for his part in the late rebellion, ſent him word that his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to reprieve him, with ſeveral of his friends, in order, as it was thought, to give them their lives; and that he hoped before he went out of town they ſhould have a chearful meeting, and drink health and proſperity to King *George*.

N° 48 Monday, June 4.

Tu tamen, si habes aliquam spem de republica sive desperas; ea para, meditare, cogita, quæ esse in eo cive ac viro debent, qui sit rempublicam afflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus in veterem dignitatem hac libertatem vindicaturus.

Cicero.

But you, whether you have any hopes, or whether you despair of the commonwealth, employ nevertheless all your faculties and thoughts, as becomes a man and a citizen, who is desirous to vindicate the ancient honour and liberty of the state from the corruptions and oppressions of unhappy times and degenerate morals.

THE condition of a minister of state is only suited to persons, who, out of a love to their King and country, desire rather to be useful to the publick, than easy to themselves. When a man is posted in such a station, whatever his behaviour my be, he is sure, beside the natural fatigue and trouble of it, to incur the envy of some, and the displeasure of others; as he will have many rivals, whose ambition he cannot satisfy, and many dependents whose wants he cannot provide for. These are misfortunes inseparable from such publick employments in all countries; but there are several others which hang upon this condition of life in our *British* Government, more than any other sovereignty in *Europe*: As in the first place, there is no other nation which is so equally divided into two opposite parties,

whom

whom it is impoſſible to pleaſe at the ſame time. our notions of the publick good, with relation both to ourſelves and foreigners, are of ſo different a nature, that thoſe meaſures, which are extolled by one half of the kingdom, are naturally decried by the other. Beſides, that in a *Britiſh* adminiſtration, many acts of Government are abſolutely neceſſary, in which one of the parties muſt be favoured and obliged, in oppoſition to their antagoniſts. So that the moſt perfect adminiſtration, conducted by the moſt conſummate wiſdom and probity, muſt unavoidably produce oppoſition, enmity, and defamation, from multitudes who are made happy by it.

Farther, it is peculiarly obſerved of our nation, that almoſt every man in it is a politician, and hath a ſcheme of his own, which he thinks preferable to that of any other perſon. Whether this may proceed from that ſpirit of liberty which reigns among us, or from thoſe great numbers of all ranks and conditions, who from time to time are concerned in the *Britiſh* legiſlature, and by that means are let into the buſineſs of this nation, I ſhall not take upon me to determine. But for this reaſon it is certain, that a *Britiſh* miniſtry muſt expect to meet with many cenſurers, even in their own party, and ought to be ſatisfied, if, allowing to every particular man that his private ſcheme is wiſeſt, they can perſuade him that next to his own plan that of the Government is the moſt eligible.

Beſides, we have a ſet of very honeſt and well-meaning Gentlemen in *England*, not to be met with in other countries, who take it for granted, they can never be in the wrong, ſo long as they oppoſe Miniſters of State. Thoſe, whom they have admired through the whole courſe

of

of their lives for their honour and integrity, though they ſtill perſiſt to act in their former character, and change nothing but their ſtations, appear to them in a diſadvantageous light, as ſoon as they are placed upon ſtate-eminencies. Many of theſe Gentlemen have been uſed to think there is a kind of ſlavery in concurring with the meaſures of great men, and that the good of the country is inconſiſtent with the inclinations of the Court: By the ſtrength of theſe prejudices, they are apt to fancy a man loſes his honeſty, from the very moment that it is made the moſt capable of being uſeful to the publick; and will not conſider that it is every whit as honourable to aſſiſt a good Miniſter, as to oppoſe a bad one.

In the laſt place, we may obſerve, that there are greater numbers of perſons who ſolicit for places, and perhaps are fit for them, in our own country, than in any other. To which we muſt add, that by the nature of our conſtitution, it is in the power of more particular perſons in this kingdom, than in any other, to diſtreſs the Government when they are diſobliged. A *Britiſh* Miniſter muſt therefore expect to ſee many of thoſe friends and dependents fall off from him, whom he cannot gratify in their demands upon him; ſince to uſe the phraſe of a late Stateſman, who knew very well how to form a party, 'The 'paſture is not large enough.'

Upon the whole: The condition of a *Britiſh* Miniſter labours under ſo many difficulties, that we find in almoſt every reign ſince the conqueſt, the chief miniſters have been new men, or ſuch as have raiſed themſelves to the greateſt poſts in the Government, from the ſtate of private Gentlemen. Several of them neither roſe from any

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conſpicuous family, nor left any behind them, being of that claſs of eminent perſons, whom Sir *Francis Bacon* ſpeaks of, who, like comets or blazing ſtars, draw upon them the whole attention of the age in which they appear, though no body knows whence they came, nor where they are loſt. Perſons of hereditary wealth and title have not been over forward to engage in ſo great a ſcene of cares and perplexities, nor to run all the riſks of ſo dangerous a ſituation. Nay, many whoſe greatneſs and fortune were not made to their hands, and had ſufficient qualifications and opportunities of riſing to theſe high poſts of truſt and honour, have been deterred from ſuch purſuits by the difficulties that attend them, and choſe rather to be eaſy than powerful; or, if I may uſe the expreſſion, to be carried in the chariot than to drive it.

As the condition of a miniſter of ſtate, in general, is ſubject to many burdens and vexations; and as that of a *Britiſh* miniſter in particular is involved in ſeveral hazards and difficulties peculiar to our own country: ſo is this high ſtation expoſed more than ordinary to ſuch inconveniences in the preſent juncture of affairs; firſt, as it is the beginning of a new eſtabliſhment among us; and ſecondly, as this eſtabliſhment hath been diſturbed by a dangerous Rebellion.

If we look back into our *Engliſh* hiſtory, we ſhall always find the firſt monarch of a new line received with the greateſt oppoſition, and reconciling to himſelf by degrees the duty and affection of his people. The Government, on ſuch occaſions, is always ſhaken before it ſettles. The inveteracy of the people's prejudices, and the

the artifices of domeſtick enemies, compelled their rulers to make uſe of all means for reducing them to their allegiance, which perhaps, after all, was brought about rather by time than by policy. When commotions and diſturbances are of an extraordinary and unuſual nature, the proceedings of the Government muſt be ſo too. The remedy muſt be ſuited to the evil, and I know no juncture more difficult to a miniſter of ſtate, than ſuch as requires uncommon methods to be made uſe of; when at the ſame time no others can be made uſe of, than what are preſcribed by the known laws of our conſtitution. Several meaſures may be abſolutely neceſſary in ſuch a juncture, which may be repreſented as hard and ſevere, and would not be proper in a time of publick peace and tranquillity. In this caſe *Virgil*'s excuſe, which he put in the mouth of a fictitious Sovereign upon a complaint of this nature, hath the utmoſt force of reaſon and juſtice on its ſide.

Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt.

"The difficulties I meet with in the beginning "of my reign make ſuch a proceeding neceſſary."

In the next place: As this eſtabliſhment has been diſturbed by a dangerous Rebellion, the miniſtry has been involved in many additional and ſupernumerary difficulties. It is a common remark, that *Engliſh* miniſters never fare ſo well as in a time of war with a foreign power, which diverts the private feuds and animoſities of the nation, and turns their efforts upon the common enemy. As a foreign war is favourable to a miniſtry, a Rebellion is no leſs dangerous; if it ſucceed, they are the firſt perſons who,

who muſt fall a ſacrifice to it; if it is defeated, they naturally become odious to all the ſecret favourers and abettors of it. Every method they make uſe of for preventing or ſuppreſſing it, and for deterring others from the like practices for the future, muſt be unacceptable and diſpleaſing to the friends, relations, and accomplices of the guilty. In caſes where it is thought neceſſary to make examples, it is the humour of the multitude to forget the crime and remember the puniſhment. However, we have already ſeen, and ſtill hope to ſee, ſo many inſtances of mercy in his Majeſty's Government, that our chief miniſters have more to fear from the murmurs of their too violent friends, than from the reproaches of their enemies.

N°49 Friday, June 8.

———*jam nunc ſolennes ducere pompas*
Ad delubra juvat——— Virg. Georg. 3. l. 22.

Now to the temples lead the ſolemn pomp.

YEſterday was ſet a part as a day of publick thankſgiving for the late extraordinary ſucceſſes, which have ſecured to us every thing that can be eſteemed, and delivered us from every thing that can be apprehended, by a Proteſtant and a free people. I cannot but obſerve, upon this occaſion, the natural tendency in ſuch a national devotion, to inſpire men with ſentiments of religious gratitude, and to ſwell their hearts with inward tranſports of joy and exultation.

When

When inſtances of divine favour are great in themſelves, when they are freſh upon the memory, when they are peculiar to a certain country, and commemorated by them in large and ſolemn aſſemblies; a man muſt be of a very cold or degenerate temper, whoſe heart doth not burn within him in the midſt of that praiſe and adoration, which ariſes at the ſame hour in all the different parts of the nation, and from the many thouſands of the people.

It is impoſſible to read of extraordinary and national acts of worſhip, without being warmed with the deſcription, and feeling ſome degree of that divine enthuſiaſm, which ſpreads itſelf among a joyful and religious multitude. A part of that exuberant devotion, with which the whole aſſembly raiſed and animated one another, catches a reader at the greateſt diſtance of time, and makes him a kind of ſharer in it.

Among all the publick ſolemnities of this nature, there is none in hiſtory ſo glorious as that under the reign of King *Solomon*, at the dedication of the temple. Beſides the great officers of ſtate, and the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem*, all the elders and heads of tribes, with the whole body of the people ranged under them, from one end of the Kingdom to the other, were ſummoned to aſſiſt in it. We may gueſs at the prodigious number of this aſſembly from the ſacrifice on which they feaſted, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty thouſand ſheep, and two hundred and twenty hecatombs of oxen. When this vaſt congregation was formed into a regular proceſſion to attend the ark of the covenant, the King marched at the head of his people, with hymns and dances, to the new temple, which he had erected for its reception. *Joſephus* tells us

that

that the *Levites* ſprinkled the way as they paſſed with the blood of ſacrifices, and burned the holy incenſe in ſuch quantities as refreſhed the whole multitude with its odours, and filled all the region about them with perfume. When the ark was depoſited under the wings of the cherubims in the holy place, the great conſort of praiſe began. It was enlivened with a hundred and twenty trumpets, aſſiſted with a proportionable number of other kinds of muſical inſtruments, and accompanied with innumerable voices of all the ſingers of *Iſrael* who were inſtructed and ſet apart to religious performances of this kind. As this mighty chorus was extolling their Maker, and exciting the whole nation thus aſſembled to the praiſe of his never-ceaſing goodneſs and mercy, the *Shekinah* deſcended: Or, to tell it in the more emphatical words of holy writ, 'It came to paſs, as the 'trumpets and ſingers were as one, to make one 'ſound to be heard in praiſing and thanking the 'Lord, and when they lift up their voice with the 'trumpets and ſymbals, and inſtruments of mu-'ſick, and praiſed the lord, ſaying,' for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever; 'that then the 'houſe was filled with a cloud.' The prieſts themſelves, not able to bear the awfulneſs of the appearance, retired into the court of the temple, where the King being placed upon a brazen ſcaffold, ſo as to be ſeen by the whole multitude, bleſſed the congregation of *Iſrael*, and afterwards, ſpreading forth his hands to heaven, offered up that divine prayer which is twice recorded at length in ſcripture, and has always been looked upon as a compoſition fit to have proceeded from the wiſeſt of men. He had no ſooner finiſhed his prayer, when a flaſh of fire

fell

fell from heaven and burned up the ſacrifice which lay ready upon the altar. The people, whoſe hearts were gradually moved by the ſolemnity of the whole proceeding, having been exalted by the religious ſtrains of muſick, and awed by the appearance, of that glory which filled the temple, ſeeing now the miraculous conſumption of the ſacrifice, and obſerving the piety of their King, who lay proſtrate before his Maker, 'Bowed themſelves with their faces to the 'ground upon the pavement, and worſhipped 'and praiſed the Lord, ſaying,' for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.

What happineſs might not ſuch a Kingdom promiſe to itſelf, where the ſame elevated ſpirit of religion ran through the Prince, the prieſts, and the people! But I ſhall quit this head, to obſerve, that ſuch an uncomon fervour of devotion ſhewed itſelf among our own countrymen, and in the perſons of three princes, who were the greateſt conquerors in our *Engliſh* hiſtory. Theſe are *Edward* the Third, his Son the *Black-Prince*, and *Henry* the Fifth. As for the firſt we are told that, before the famous battle of *Creſſy*, he ſpent the greateſt part of the night in prayer, and in the morning received the ſacrament, with his ſon, the chief of his officers, and nobility. The night of that glorious day was no leſs piouſly diſtinguiſhed by the orders, which he gave out to his army, that they ſhould forbear all inſulting of their enemies, or boaſting of their own valour, and employ their time in returning thanks to the great giver of the victory. The *Black Prince*, before the battle of *Poictiers*, declared, that his whole confidence was in the divine aſſiſtance; and after that great victory, behaved himſelf in all particulars

like

like a truly chriſtian conqueror. Eight days ſucceſſively were appointed by his Father in *England*, for a ſolemn and publick thankſgiving; and when the young Prince returned in triumph with the King of *France* as his priſoner, the pomp of the day conſiſted chiefly in extraordinary proceſſions, and acts of devotions. The behaviour of the *Black Prince*, after a battle in *Spain*, whereby he reſtored the King of *Caſtile* to his dominions, was no leſs remarkable. When that King, tranſported with his ſucceſs, flung himſelf upon his Knees to thank him, the generous Prince ran to him, and, taking him by the hand, told him it was not he who could lay any claim to his gratitude, but deſired they might go to the altar together, and jointly return their thanks to whom only it was due.

Henry V. (who at the beginning of his reign, made a publick prayer in the preſence of his lords and commons, that he might be cut off by an immediate death, if Providence foreſaw he would not prove a juſt and good Governor, and promote the welfare of his people) manifeſtly derived his courage from his piety, and was ſcrupulouſly careful not to aſcribe the ſucceſs of it to himſelf. When he came within ſight of that prodigious army, which offered him battle at *Agincourt*, he ordered all his cavalry to diſmount, and with the reſt of his forces, to implore upon their knees a bleſſing on their undertaking. In a noble ſpeech, which he made to his ſoldiers immediately before the firſt onſet, he took notice of a very remarkable circumſtance, namely, that this very day of battle was the day appointed in his own kingdom, to offer up publick devotions for the proſperity of his arms, and therefore bid them not doubt

of

of victory, since at the same time that they were fighting in the field, all the people of *England* were lifting up their hands to heaven for their success. Upon the close of that memorable day, in which the King had performed wonders with his own hand, he ordered the CXVth psalm to be repeated in the midst of his victorious army, and at the words, 'Not unto 'us, not unto us, but unto thy name be the 'praise,' he himself, with his whole host, fell to the earth upon their faces, ascribing to Omnipotence the whole glory of so great an action.

I shall conclude this Paper with a reflexion which naturally rises out of it. As there is nothing more beautiful in the sight of God and man, than a King and his people concurring in such extraordinary acts of devotion, one cannot suppose a greater contradiction and absurdity in a Government, than where the King is of one religion and the people of another. What harmony or correspondence can be expected between a Sovereign and his subjects, when they cannot join together in the most joyful, the most solemn, and most laudable action of reasonable creatures; in a word, where the Prince considers his people as hereticks, and the people look upon their Prince as an idolater!

Monday,

N° 50 Monday, June 11.

O quiſquis volet impias
Cædes, aut rabiem tollere civicam:
Si quæret pater urbium
Subſcribi ſtatuis; indomitam audeat
Refrænare licentiam
Clarus pòſt genitis——

Hor. Od. 24. l. 3. ver. 25.

He that wou'd prize his country's good,
And ſtop the iſſue of our civil blood;
He that wou'd ſtand in braſs as fix'd as fate,
Be nam'd the father of the ſtate;
Let him reſtrain his brutal rage;
A glorious man in future age! CREECH.

WHEN *Mahomet* had for many years endeavoured to propagate his impoſture among his fellow-citizens, and, inſtead of gaining any number of Proſelytes, found his ambition fruſtrated, and his notions ridiculed; he forbad his followers the uſe of argument and diſputation in the advancing of his doctrines, and to rely only upon the ſcimetar for their ſucceſs. Chriſtianity, he obſerved, had made its way by reaſon and miracles, but he profeſſed it was his deſign to ſave men by the ſword. From that time he began to knock down his fellow-citizens with a great deal of zeal, to plunder caravans with a moſt exemplary ſanctity, and to fill all *Arabia* with an unnatural medley of religion and bloodſhed.

The

The enemies of our happy eſtabliſhment ſeem at preſent to copy out the piety of this ſeditious prophet, and to have recourſe to this laudable method of club-law, when they find all other means for enforcing the abſurdity of their opinions to be ineffectual. It was uſual among the ancient *Romans*, for thoſe, who had ſaved the life of a citizen, to be dreſſed in an oaken garland; but among us, this has been a mark of ſuch well-intentioned perſons, as would betray their country, if they were able, and beat out the brains of their fellow-ſubjects. Nay, the leaders of this poor unthinking rabble, to ſhew their wit, have lately decked them out of their kitchen-gardens in a moſt inſipid pun, very well ſuited to the capacity of ſuch followers.

This manner of poceeding has had an effect quite contrary to the intention of theſe ingenious demagogues. For by ſetting ſuch an unfortunate mark on their followers, they have expoſed them to innumerable drubs and contuſions. They have been cudgelled moſt unmercifully in every part of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and over all the nation have avowed their principles, to the unſpeakable damage of their bones. In ſhort, if we may believe our accounts both from town and country, the noſes and ears of the party are very much diminiſhed, ſince they have appeared under this unhappy diſtinction.

The truth of it is, there is ſuch an unaccountable frenzy and licentiouſneſs ſpread through the baſeſt of the people, of all parties and denominations, that if their ſkirmiſhes did not proceed to too great an extremity, one would not be ſorry to ſee them beſtowing ſo liberally, upon one

one another, a chaſtiſement which they ſo richly deſerve. Their thumps and bruiſes might turn to account, and ſave the Government a great deal of trouble, if they could beat each other into good manners.

Were not advice thrown away on ſuch a thoughtleſs rabble, one would recommend to their ſerious conſideration what is ſuſpected, and indeed known, to be the cauſe of theſe popular tumults and commotions in this great city. They are the Popiſh miſſionaries, that lie concealed under many diſguiſes in all quarters of the town, who mix themſelves in theſe dark ſcuffles, and animate the mob to ſuch mutual outrages and inſults. This profligate ſpecies of modern apoſtles divert themſelves at the expence of a Government, which is oppoſite to their intereſts, and are pleaſed to ſee the broken heads of hereticks, in what party ſoever they have liſted themſelves. Their treatment of our ſilly countrymen puts me in mind of an account in *Tavernier*'s travels through the *Eaſt-Indies*. This Author tells us, there is a great wood in thoſe parts very plentifully ſtocked with Monkies; that a large highway runs through the middle of this wood; and that the Monkies, who live on the one ſide of this highway, are declared enemies to thoſe who live on the other. When the inhabitants of that country have a mind to give themſelves a diverſion, it is uſual for them to ſet theſe poor animals together by the ears; which they do after this manner. They place ſeveral pots of rice in the middle of the road, with great heaps of cudgels in the neighbourhood of every pot. The Monkies, on the firſt diſcovery of theſe proviſions, deſcend from the trees on either

ſide in prodigious numbers, take up the arms, with which their good friends have furniſhed them, and belabour one another with a ſtorm of thwacks, to the no ſmall mirth and entertainment of the beholders. This mob of Monkies act however ſo far reaſonably in this point, as the victorious ſide of the wood find, upon the repulſe of their enemies, a conſiderable booty on the field of battle; whereas our party-mobs are betrayed into the fray without any proſpect of the feaſt.

If our common people have not virtue enough left among them, to lay aſide this wicked and unnatural hatred which is crept into their hearts againſt one another, nor ſenſe enough to reſiſt the artifice of thoſe incendiaries, who would animate them to the deſtruction of their country; it is high time for the Government to exert itſelf in the repreſſing of ſuch ſeditious tumults and commotions. If that extraordinary lenity and forbearance, which has been hitherto ſhewn on thoſe occaſions, proves ineffectual to that purpoſe, theſe miſcreants of the community ought to be made ſenſible, that our conſtitution is armed with a ſufficient force for the reformation of ſuch diſorders, and the ſettlement of the publick peace.

There cannot be a greater affront to religion, than ſuch a tumultuous riſing of the people, who diſtinguiſh the times ſet apart for the national devotions by the moſt brutal ſcenes of violence, clamour, and intemperance. The day begins with a thankſgiving, and ends in a riot. Inſtead of the voice of mutual joy and gladneſs, there is nothing heard in our ſtreets but opprobrious language, ribaldry and contention.

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As ſuch a practice is ſcandalous to our religion, ſo it is no leſs a reproach to our Government. We are become a by-word among the nations for our ridiculous feuds and animoſities, and fill all the publick prints of *Europe* with the accounts of our midnight brawls and confuſions.

The miſchiefs ariſing to private perſons from theſe vile diſturbers of the commonwealth are too many to be enumerated. The great and innocent are inſulted by the ſcum and refuſe of the people. Several poor wretches, who have engaged in theſe commotions, have been diſabled, for their lives, from doing any good to their families and dependents; nay, ſeveral of them have fallen a ſacrifice to their own inexcuſable folly and madneſs. Should the Government be wearied out of its preſent patience and forbearance, and forced to execute all thoſe powers with which it is inveſted for the preſervation of the publick peace; what is to be expected by ſuch heaps of turbulent and ſeditious men!

Theſe and the like conſiderations, though they may have no influence on the headſtrong unruly multitude, ought to ſink into the minds of thoſe who are their abettors, and who, if they eſcape the puniſhment here due to them, muſt very well know that theſe ſeveral miſchiefs will be one day laid to their charge.

N° 51 Friday, June 15.

Quod ſi in hoc erro libenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo.

Cicero.

If I am miſtaken in this, I am wilfully miſtaken; nor, while I live, will I ever part with ſo pleaſing an error.

AS there is nothing which more improves the mind of man, than the reading of ancient Authors, when it is done with judgment and diſcretion; ſo there is nothing which gives a more unlucky turn to the thoughts of a reader, when he wants diſcernment, and loves and admires the characters and actions of men in a wrong place. *Alexander the Great* was ſo inflamed with falſe notions of glory, by reading the ſtory of *Achilles* in the *Iliad*, that, after having taken a town, he ordered the Governor, who had made a gallant defence, to be bound by the feet to his chariot, and afterwards dragged the brave man round the city, becauſe *Hector* had been treated in the ſame barbarous manner by his admired hero.

Many *Engliſhmen* have proved very pernicious to their own country, by following blindly the examples of perſons to be met with in *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtory, who acted, in conformity with their own governments, after a quite different manner, than they would have acted in a conſtitution like that of ours. Such a method of proceeding is as unreaſonable in a politician, as it would

would be in a husbandman to make use of *Virgil's* precepts of agriculture, in managing the soil of our country, that lies in a quite different climate, and under the influence of almost another sun.

Our regicides in the commission of the most execrable murder used to justify themselves from the conduct of *Brutus*, not considering that *Cæsar*, from the condition of a fellow-citizen, had risen by the most indirect methods, and broken through all the laws of the community, to place himself at the head of the government, and enslave his country. On the other side, several of our *English* readers, having observed that a passive and unlimited obedience was paid to *Roman* Emperors, who were possessed of the whole legislative, as well as executive power, have formerly endeavoured to inculcate the same kind of obedience, where there is not the same kind of authority.

Instructions therefore to be learned from histories of this nature, are only such as arise from particulars agreeable to all communities, or from such as are common to our own constitution, and to that of which we read. A tenacious adherence to the rights and liberties transmitted from a wise and virtuous ancestry, publick spirit, and a love of one's country, submission to established laws, impartial administrations of justice, a strict regard to national faith, with several other duties, which are the supports and ornaments of Government in general, cannot be too much admired among the States of *Greece* and *Rome*, nor too much imitated by our own community.

But there is nothing more absurd, than for men, who are conversant in these ancient Authors, to contract such a prejudice in favour of *Greeks* and *Romans*, as to fancy we are in the wrong in every circumstance whereby we deviate from their

moral or political conduct. Yet nothing hath been more usual, than for men of warm heads to refine themselves up into this kind of state pedantry: Like the country schoolmaster, who, being used for many years to admire *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, and *Apollo*, that appear with so much advantage in classick Authors, made an attempt to revive the worship of the heathen gods. In short, we find many worthy Gentlemen, whose brains have been as much turned by this kind of reading, as the grave Knight's of *Mancha* was by his unwearied application to books of knight-errantry.

To prevent such mischiefs from arising out of studies, which, when rightly conducted, may turn very much to our advantage, I shall venture to assert, that, in our perusal of *Greek* or *Roman* Authors, it is impossible to find a religious or civil constitution, any way comparable to that which we enjoy in our own country. Had not our religion been infinitely preferable to that of the ancient Heathens, it would never have made its way through paganism, with that amazing progress and activity. Its victories were the victories of reason unassisted by the force of human power, and as gentle as the triumphs of light over darkness. The sudden reformation which it made among mankind, and which was so justly and frequently boasted of by the first apologists for christianity, shew how infinitely preferable it is to any system of religion, that prevailed in the world before its appearance. This preeminence of christianity to any other general religious scheme, which preceded it, appears likewise from this particular, that the most eminent and the most enlightened among the pagan philosophers disclaimed many of those superstitious follies,

follies, which are condemned by revealed religion, and preached up ſeveral of thoſe doctrines, which are ſome of the moſt eſſential parts of it.

And here I cannot but take notice of that ſtrange motive which is made uſe of in the hiſtory of Free-thinking, to incline us to depart from the revealed doctrines of chriſtanity, as adhered to by the people of *Great-Britain*, becauſe *Socrates*, with ſeveral other eminent *Greeks*, and *Cicero*, with many other learned *Romans*, did in the like manner depart from the religious notions of their own countrymen. Now this Author ſhould have conſidered, that thoſe very points, in which theſe wiſe men diſagreed from the bulk of the people, are points, in which they agreed with the received doctrines of our nation. Their Free-thinking conſiſted in aſſerting the unity and immateriality of the Godhead, the immortality of the Soul, a ſtate of future rewards and puniſhments, and the neceſſity of virtue, excluſive of all ſilly and ſuperſtitious practices, to procure the happineſs of a ſeparate ſtate. They were therefore only Free-thinkers, ſo far forth as they approached to the doctrines of chriſtianity, that is to thoſe very doctrines which this kind of Authors would perſuade us, as Free-thinkers, to doubt the truth of. Now I would appeal to any reaſonable perſon, whether theſe great men ſhould not have been propoſed to our imitation, rather as they embraced theſe divine truths, than only upon the account of their breaking looſe from the common notions of their fellow-citizens. But this would diſappoint the general tendency of ſuch writings.

I ſhall only add under this head, that as chriſtianity recovered the law of nature out of all thoſe errors and corruptions, with which it was over-

grown in the times of paganism, our national religion has restored christianity itself to that purity and simplicity in which it appeared, before it was gradually disguised and lost among the vanities and superstitions of the *Romish* church.

That our civil constitution is preferable to any among the *Greeks* or *Romans*, may appear from this single consideration; that the greatest theorists in matters of this nature, among those very people, have given the preference to such a form of Government, as that which obtains in this kingdom, above any other form whatsoever. I shall mention *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, and *Cicero*, that is, the greatest philosopher, the most impartial historian, and the most consummate Statesman of all antiquity. These famous Authors give the preeminence to a mixt government consisting of three branches, the regal, the noble and the popular. It would be very easy to prove, not only the reasonableness of this position, but to shew, that there was never any constitution among the *Greeks* or *Romans*, in which these three branches were so well distinguished from each other, invested with such suitable proportions of power, and concurred together in the legislature, that is, in the most sovereign acts of government, with such a necessary consent and harmony, as are to be met with in the constitution of this kingdom. But I have observed in a foregoing Paper, how defective the *Roman* commonwealth was in this particular, when compared with our own form of government, and it will not be difficult for the reader, upon singling out any other ancient state, to find how far it will suffer in the parallel.

Monday,

N°52 Monday, June 18.

An tu populum Romanum esse illum putas qui constat ex iis, qui mercede conducuntur? qui impelluntur, ut vim afferant magistratibus? ut obsideant senatum? optent quotidiè cædem, incendia, rapinas? quem tu tamen populum, nisi tabernis clausis, frequentare non poteras: Cui populo duces Lentidios, Lollios, Sergios, præfeceras. O speciem, dignitatemque populi Romani, quam reges, quam nationes exteræ, quam gentes ultimæ pertimescunt; multitudinem hominum ex servis conductis, ex facinorosis, ex egentibus congregatam! Cicero.

Do you esteem those to be *Romans*, who are influenced by money? who are led to insult the Magistrates, besiege the Senate, and daily to wish for sword, fire, and rapine? Men whom you cannot meet with, but when the tavern-doors are shut; who are headed by such fellows as *Lentidius*, *Lollius*, and *Sergius*? Is it here we must look for the grandeur and dignity of the *Romans*, so formidable to Kings, foreign states, and the remotest nations; here, among this rabble, composed of slaves, and the very dregs of the people!

THERE is in all Governments a certain temper of mind, natural to the patriots and lovers of their constitution, which may be called state-jealousy. It is this which makes them apprehensive of every tendency in the people, or in any particular member of the community, to endanger or disturb that form of rule, which is established by the laws and customs of their

country. This political jealouſy is abſolutely requiſite in ſome degree for the preſervation of a Government, and very reaſonable in perſons who are perſuaded of the excellency of their conſtitution, and believe that they derive from it the moſt valuable bleſſings of ſociety.

This publick-ſpirited paſſion is more ſtrong and active under ſome Governments, than others. The commonwealth of *Venice*, which hath ſubſiſted by it for near fourteen hundred years, is ſo jealous of all its members, that it keeps continual ſpies upon their actions; and if any one of them preſume to cenſure the eſtabliſhed plan of that republick, or touch upon any of its fundamentals, he is brought before a ſecret council of ſtate, tried in a moſt rigorous manner, and put to death without mercy. The uſual way of proceeding with perſons who diſcover themſelves unſatisfied with the title of their Sovereign in deſpotick Governments, is to confine the malecontent, if his crimes are not capital, to ſome caſtle or dungeon for life. There is indeed no conſtitution ſo tame and careleſs of their own defence, where any perſon dares to give the leaſt ſign or intimation of being a traitor in his heart. Our *Engliſh* hiſtory furniſhes us with many examples of great ſeverities, during the diſputes between the houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*, inflicted on ſuch perſons as ſhewed their diſaffection to the Prince who was on the throne. Every one knows, that a factious inn-keeper, in the reign of *Henry* the Seventh, was hanged, drawn and quartered, for a ſaucy pun, which reflected, in a very dark and diſtant manner, upon the title of that Prince to the crown. I do not mention the practice of other Governments, as what ſhould be imitated in ours, which, God be thanked, affords us all the reaſonable liberty of ſpeech and action, ſuited

to

to a free people; nor do I take notice of this laſt inſtance of ſeverity in our own country, to juſtify ſuch a proceeding; but only to diſplay the mildneſs and forbearance made uſe of under the reign of his preſent Majeſty. It may, however, turn to the advantage of thoſe, who have been inſtrumental in ſtirring up the late tumults and ſeditions among the people, to conſider the treatment which ſuch a lawleſs ungoverned rabble would have met with in any other country, and under any other Sovereign.

Theſe incendiaries have had the art to work up into the moſt unnatural ferments the moſt heavy and ſtupid part of the community; and if I may uſe a fine ſaying of *Terence* upon another occaſion, 'to convert fools into madmen.' This frenzy hath been raiſed among them to ſuch a degree, that it hath lately diſcovered itſelf in a ſedition which is without a parallel. They have had the fool-hardineſs to ſet a mark upon themſelves on the *Pretender*'s birth-day, as the declared friends to his cauſe, and profeſt enemies to their King and country. How fatal would ſuch a diſtinction, of which every one knew the meaning, have proved in former reigns, when many a circumſtance of leſs ſignificancy has been conſtrued into an overt-act of high-treaſon! This unexampled piece of inſolence will appear under its juſt aggravations, if we conſider in the firſt place, that it was aimed perſonally at the King.

I do not remember among any of our popular commotions, when marks of this nature have been in faſhion, that either ſide were ſo void of common ſenſe, as to intimate by them an averſion to their Sovereign. His perſon was ſtill held as ſacred by both parties. The contention was not who ſhould be the Monarch over them, but whoſe ſcheme of policy ſhould take place in his admi-

adminiſtration. This was the conduct of Whigs and Tories under King *Charles* the Second's reign, when men hung out their principles in different coloured ribbons. Nay, in the times of the great rebellion, the avowed diſaffection of the people always terminated in evil counſellors. Such an open outrage upon Majeſty, ſuch an oſtentation of diſloyalty, was reſerved for that infamous rabble of *Engliſhmen*, who may be juſtly looked upon as the ſcandal of the preſent age, and the moſt ſhameleſs and abandoned race of men that our nation has yet produced.

In the next place, It is very peculiar to this mob of malecontents, that they did not only diſtinguiſh themſelves againſt their King, but againſt a King poſſeſſed of all the power of the nation, and one who had ſo very lately cruſhed all thoſe of the ſame principles, that had bravery enough to avow them in the field of battle. When ever was there an inſtance of a King, who was not contemptible for his weakneſs and want of power to reſent, inſulted by a few of his unarmed daſtard ſubjects?

It is plain from this ſingle conſideration, that ſuch a baſe ungenerous race of men could rely upon nothing for their own ſafety in this affront to his Majeſty, but the known gentleneſs and lenity of his Government. Inſtead of being deterred by knowing that he had in his hands the power to puniſh them, they were encouraged by knowing that he had not the inclination. In a word, they preſumed upon that mercy which in all their converſations they endeavour to depreciate and miſrepreſent.

It is a very ſenſible concern to every one, who has a true and unfeigned reſpect for our national religion, to hear theſe vile miſcreants calling themſelves ſons of the church of *England*, amidſt

ſuch

ſuch impious tumults and diſorders; and joining in the cry of High-church at the ſame time that they wear a badge, which implies their inclinations to deſtroy the reformed religion. Their concern for the church always riſes higheſt, when they are acting in direct oppoſition to its doctrines. Our ſtreets are filled at the ſame time with zeal and drunkenneſs, riots and religion. We muſt confeſs, if noiſe and clamour, ſlander and calumny, treaſon and perjury, were articles of their communion, there would be none living more punctual in the performance of their duties; but if a peaceable behaviour, a love of truth, and a ſubmiſſion to ſuperiors, are the genuine marks of our profeſſion, we ought to be very heartily aſhamed of ſuch a profligate brotherhood. Or if we ſtill think and own theſe men to be true ſons of the church of *England*, I dare ſay there is no church in *Europe* who will envy her the glory of ſuch diſciples. But it is to be hoped we are not ſo fond of party, as to look upon a man, becauſe he is a bad Chriſtian, to be a good Church of *England* man.

N° 53 Friday, June 22.

———— *Bellua Centiceps.*
Hor. Od. 14. l. 2. ver. 34.

The monſter furious with an hundred heads.

THERE is ſcarce any man in *England*, of what denomination ſoever, that is not a Free-thinker in politicks, and hath not ſome particular notions of his own, by which he diſtinguiſhes himſelf from the reſt of the community. Our

Our island, which was formerly called a nation of saints, may now be called a nation of statesmen. Almost every age, profession, and sex among us, has its favourite set of ministers, and scheme of government

Our children are initiated into factions before they know their right-hand from their left. They no sooner begin to speak, but Whig and Tory are the first words they learn. They are taught in their infancy to hate one half of the nation; and contract all the virulence and passion of a party, before they come to the use of their reason.

As for our Nobility, they are politicians by birth; and though the Commons of the nation delegate their power in the community to certain representatives, every one reserves to himself a private jurisdiction, or privilege, of censuring their conduct, and rectifying the legislature. There is scarce a fresh-man in either University, who is not able to mend the constitution in several particulars. We see 'Squires and Yeomen coming up to town every day, so full of politicks, that, to use the thought of an ingenious gentleman, we are frequently put in mind of *Roman* dictators, who were called from the plough. I have often heard of a senior alderman in *Buckinghamshire*, who, at all publick meetings, grows drunk, in praise of aristocracy, and is as often encountered by an old justice of peace who lives in the neighbourhood, and will talk you from morning until night on the *Gothic* balance. Who have not observed several parish clerks, that have ransacked *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* for staves in favour of the race of *Jacob*; after the example of their politick predecessors in *Oliver*'s days, who on every sabbath were for binding Kings in chains, and Nobles in links of iron! You can scarce see a bench of porters without two or three

casuists

caſuiſts in it, that will ſettle you the right of Princes, and ſtate the bounds of the civil and eccleſiaſtical power, in the drinking of a pot of ale. What is more uſual than on a rejoicing night to meet with a drunken cobler bauling out for the church, and perhaps knocked down a little after, by an enemy in his own profeſſion, who is a lover of moderation?

We have taken notice in former Papers of this political ferment being got into the female ſex, and of the wild work it makes among them. We have had a late moſt remarkable inſtance of it in a conteſt between a ſiſter of the white-roſe, and a beautiful and loyal young lady, who, to ſhew her zeal for revolution principles, had adorned her pretty boſom with a *Sweet-William*. The rabble of the ſex have not been aſhamed very lately to gather about bonfires, and to ſcream out their principles in the publick ſtreets. In ſhort, there is hardly a female in this our metropolis, who is not a competent judge of our higheſt controverſies in Church and State. We have ſeveral oiſter-women that hold the unlawfulneſs of epiſcopacy; and cinder-wenches that are great ſticklers for indefeaſible right.

Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the people of *Great-Britain*, I cannot ſingle out any ſo prevalent and univerſal, as the late conſtant application of the preſs to the publiſhing of ſtate-matters. We hear of ſeveral that are newly erected in the country, and ſet a part for this particular uſe. For, it ſeems, the people of *Exeter*, *Saliſbury*, and other large towns, are reſolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and deal out ſuch news of their own printing, as is beſt ſuited to the genius of the market people, and the taſte of the country.

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One cannot but be ſorry, for the ſake of theſe places, that ſuch a pernicious machine is erected among them; for it is very well known here, that the making of the politician is the breaking of the tradeſman. When a citizen turns a *Machiavel*, he grows too cunning to mind his own buſineſs; and I have heard a curious obſervation, that the woollen manufacture has of late years decayed in proportion as the paper manufacture has increaſed. Whether the one may not properly be looked upon as the occaſion of the other, I ſhall leave to the judgment of perſons more profound in political enquiries.

As our news writers record many facts, which, to uſe their own phraſe, 'afford great matter of 'ſpeculation,' their readers ſpeculate accordingly, and, by their variety of conjectures, in a few years become conſummate ſtateſmen; beſides, as their papers are filled with a different party-ſpirit, they naturally divide the people into different ſentiments, who generally conſider rather the principles, than the truth of the news-writer. This humour prevails to ſuch a degree, that there are ſeveral well-meaning perſons in the nation, who have been ſo miſled by their favourite Authors of this kind, that, in the preſent contention between the *Turk* and the Emperor, they are gone over inſenſibly from the intereſts of chriſtianity, and become well-wiſhers to the *Mahometan* cauſe. In a word, almoſt every news-writer has his ſect, which (conſidering the natural genius of our countrymen, to mix, vary, or refine in notions of ſtate) furniſhes every man, by degrees, with a particular ſyſtem of policy. For, however any one may concur in the general ſcheme of his party, it is ſtill with certain reſerves and deviations, and with a ſalvo to his own private judgment.

Among

Among this innumerable herd of politicians, I cannot but take notice of one ſet, who do not ſeem to play fair with the reſt of the fraternity, and make a very conſiderable claſs of men. Theſe are ſuch as we may call the *Afterwiſe*, who, when any project fails, or hath not had its deſired effect, foreſaw all the inconveniencies that would ariſe from it, though they kept their thoughts to themſelves until they diſcovered the iſſue. Nay, there is nothing more uſual than for ſome of theſe wiſe men, who applauded publick meaſures, before they were put in execution, to condemn them upon their proving unſucceſsful. The dictators in coffee-houſes are generally of this rank, who often give ſhrewd intimations that things would have taken another turn, had they been members of the cabinet.

How difficult muſt it be for any form of Government to continue undiſturbed, or any ruler to live uncenſured, where every one of the community is thus qualified for modelling the conſtitution, and is ſo good a judge in matters of ſtate! A famous *French* wit, to ſhew how the monarch of that nation, who has no partners in his ſovereignty, is better able to make his way through all the difficulties of government, than an Emperor of *Germany*, who acts in concert with many inferior fellow-ſovereigns; compares the firſt to a ſerpent with many tails to one head; and the other to a ſerpent with one tail to many heads; and puts the queſtion which of them is like to glide with moſt eaſe and activity through a thicket? The ſame compariſon will hold in the buſineſs of a nation conducted by a miniſtry, or a whole Kingdom of politicians.

Monday,

N° 54 Monday, June 25.

——————— *Tu, niſi ventis*
Debes ludibrium, cave.
Nuper ſollicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc deſiderium, curaque non levis.
Hor. Od. 14. l. 1. ver. 15.

Tho' often thou haſt ſafely paſt,
Thou ow'ſt the winds a ſport at laſt;
Oh lately thou my grief and fear,
And now my freſh and preſent care! CREECH.

THE general diviſion of the *Britiſh* nation is into Whigs and Tories, there being very few, if any, who ſtand neuters in the diſpute, without ranging themſelves under one of theſe denominations. One would therefore be apt to think, that every member of the community, who embraces with vehemence the principles of either of theſe parties, had thoroughly ſifted and examined them, and was ſecretly convinced of their preference to thoſe of that party which he rejects. And yet it is certain, that moſt of our fellow-ſubjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private intereſt, perſonal friendſhips, or a deference to the judgment of thoſe, who perhaps in their own hearts diſapprove the opinions which they induſtriouſly ſpread among the multitude. Nay, there is nothing more undoubtedly true, than that great numbers of one ſide concur in reality with the notions of thoſe whom they oppoſe, were they able to explain their implicit ſentiments, and to tell their own meaning. How-

However, as it becomes every reaſonable man to examine thoſe principles by which he acts, I ſhall in this Paper ſelect ſome conſiderations, out of many that might be inſiſted on, to ſhew the preference of what is generally called the Whig-ſcheme, to that which is eſpouſed by the Tories.

This will appear in the firſt place, if we reflect upon the tendency of their reſpective principles, ſuppoſing them carried to their utmoſt extremity. For if, in this caſe, the worſt conſequences of the one are more eligible than the worſt conſequences of the other, it is a plain argument, that thoſe principles are the moſt eligible of the two, whoſe effects are the leaſt pernicious. Now the tendency of theſe two different ſets of principles, as they are charged upon each party by its antagoniſts, is as follows. The Tories tell us, that the Whig-ſcheme would end in Preſbyterianiſm and a commonwealth. The Whigs tell us on the other ſide, that the Tory-ſcheme would terminate in Popery and arbitrary government. Were theſe reproaches mutually true, which would be moſt preferable to any man of common ſenſe, Preſbyterianiſm and a republican form of government, or Popery and tyranny? both extremes are indeed dreadful, but not equally ſo; both to be regarded with the utmoſt averſion by the friends of our conſtitution, and lovers of our country: But if one of them were inevitable, who would not rather chooſe to live under a ſtate of exceſſive liberty, than of ſlavery, and not prefer a religion that differs from our own in the circumſtantials, before one that differs from it in the eſſentials of chriſtianity.

Secondly, Let us look into the hiſtory of *England*, and ſee under which of theſe two ſchemes the nation hath enjoyed moſt honour and proſperity.

perity. If we obſerve the reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James* I. (which an impudent *Frenchman* calls the reigns of King *Elizabeth* and Queen *James*) we find the Whig-ſcheme took place under the firſt, and the Tory-ſcheme under the latter. The firſt, in whom the Whigs have always gloried, oppoſed and humbled the moſt powerful among the *Roman Catholick* Princes; raiſed and ſupported the *Dutch*; aſſiſted the *French* proteſtants; and made the reformed religion an over-balance for popery through all *Europe*. On the contrary, her ſucceſſor aggrandized the catholick King; alienated himſelf from the *Dutch*; ſuffered the *French* power to increaſe until it was too late to remedy it; and abandoned the intereſts of the King of *Bohemia*, grandfather to his preſent Majeſty, which might have ſpread the reformed religion through all *Germany*. I need not deſcribe to the reader the different ſtate of the Kingdom, as to its reputation, trade, and wealth, under theſe two reigns. We might, after this, compare the figure in which theſe kingdoms, and the whole proteſtant intereſt of *Europe*, were placed by the conduct of King *Charles* the Second, and that of King *William*; and every one knows which of the ſchemes prevailed in each of thoſe reigns. I ſhall not impute to any Tory-ſcheme the adminiſtration of King *James* the Second, on condition that they do not reproach the Whigs with the uſurpation of *Oliver*; as being ſatisfied that the principles of thoſe governments are reſpectively diſclaimed and abhorred by all the men of ſenſe and virtue in both parties, as they now ſtand. But we have a freſh inſtance, which will be remembred with grief by the preſent age, and all our poſterity, of the influence both of Whig and Tory principles in the late

late reign. Was *England* ever ſo glorious in the eyes of *Europe*, as in that part of it when the firſt prevailed. Or was it ever more contemptible than when the laſt took place?

I ſhall add, under this head, the preference of the Whig-ſcheme, with regard to foreigners. All the proteſtant ſtates of *Europe*, who may be conſidered as neutral judges between both parties, and are well-wiſhers to us in general, as to a Proteſtant people, rejoice upon the ſucceſs of a Whig-ſcheme; while all the church of *Rome*, who contemn, hate, and deteſt us as the great bulwark of hereſy, are as much pleaſed when the oppoſite party triumphs in its turn. And here let any impartial man put this queſtion to his own heart, whether that party doth not act reaſonably, who look upon the *Dutch* as their genuine friends and allies, conſidering that they are of the reformed religion, that they have aſſiſted us in the greateſt times of neceſſity, and that they can never entertain a thought of reducing us under their power. Or, on the other hand, let him conſider whether that party acts with more reaſon, who are the avowed friends of a nation, that are of the *Roman Catholick* religion, that have cruelly perſecuted our brethren of the reformation, that have made attempts in all ages to conquer this iſland, and ſupported the intereſt of that Prince, who abdicated the throne, and had endeavoured to ſubvert our civil and religious liberties.

Thirdly, Let us compare theſe two ſchemes from the effects they produce among ourſelves within our own iſland; and theſe we may conſider firſt with regard to the King, and ſecondly with regard to the people.

1. With

1. With regard to the King. The Whigs have always profeſſed and practiſed an obedience which they conceive agreeable to the conſtitution; whereas the Tories have concurred with the Whigs in their practice, though they differ from them in their profeſſions; and have avowed a principal of paſſive-obedience, to the temptation, and afterwards to the deſtruction, of thoſe who have relied upon it. Nor muſt I here omit to take notice of that firm and zealous adherence which the Whig-party have ſhewn to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to the cauſe of his preſent Majeſty. I have never heard of any in this principle, who was either guilty or ſuſpected of meaſures to defeat this eſtabliſhment, or to overturn it, ſince it has taken effect. A conſideration, which it is hoped may put to ſilence thoſe who upbraid the Whig-ſchemes of Government, with an inclination to a commonwealth, or a diſaffection to Kings.

2. With regard to the People. Every one muſt own, that thoſe laws, which have moſt conduced to the eaſe and happineſs of the ſubject, have always paſſed in thoſe parliaments, which their enemies branded with the name of Whig, and during the time of a Whig-miniſtry. And, what is very remarkable, the Tories are now forced to have recourſe to thoſe laws for ſhelter and protection: By which they tacitly do honour to the Whig-ſcheme, and own it more accommodated to the happineſs of the people, than that which they eſpouſe.

I hope I need not qualify theſe remarks with a ſuppoſition which I have gone upon through the whole courſe of my Papers, that I am far from conſidering a great part of thoſe who call themſelves Tories, as enemies to the preſent eſtabliſh-

ment;

ment; and that by the Whigs I always mean thoſe who are friends to our conſtitution, both in church and ſtate. As we may look upon theſe to be, in the main, true lovers of their religion and country, they ſeem rather to be divided by accidental friendſhips and circumſtances, than by any eſſential diſtinction.

N° 55 Friday, June 29.

——— *cæſtus artemque repono.*

Virg. Æn. 5. ver. 484.

The gauntlets I reſign, and here renounce the field.

DRYDEN.

A Riſing of Parliament being a kind of ceſſation from politicks, the *Free-Holder* cannot let his Paper drop at a more proper juncture. I would not be acceſſary to the continuing of our political ferment, when occaſions of diſpute are not adminiſtered to us by matters depending before the legiſlature; and when debates without doors naturally fall with thoſe in the two houſes of Parliament. At the ſame time a *Britiſh* Free-Holder would very ill diſcharge his part, if he did not acknowledge, with becoming duty and gratitude, the excellency and ſeaſonableneſs of thoſe laws, by which the repreſentatives of men in his rank have recovered their country in a great meaſure out of its confuſions, and provided for its future peace and happineſs under the preſent eſtabliſhment. Their unanimous and regular proceeding, under the conduct of that honourable perſon

perſon who fills their chair with the moſt conſummate abilities, and hath juſtly gained the eſteem of all ſides, by the impartiality of his behaviour; the abſolute neceſſity of ſome acts which they have paſſed, and their diſ-inclination to extend them any longer than that neceſſity required; their manifeſt averſion to enter upon ſchemes, which the enemies of our peace had inſinuated to have been their deſign; together with that temper ſo ſuitable to the dignity of ſuch an aſſembly, at a juncture when it might have been expected that very unuſual heats would have ariſen in a houſe of Commons, ſo zealous for their King and country; will be ſufficient to quiet thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions, which have been induſtriouſly propagated by the ill-wiſhers to our conſtitution.

The undertaking, which I am now laying down, was entered upon in the very criſis of the late Rebellion, when it was the duty of every *Briton* to contribute his utmoſt aſſiſtance to the Government, in a manner ſuitable to his ſtation and abilities. All ſervices, which had a tendency to this end, had a degree of merit in them, in proportion as the event of that cauſe which they eſpouſed was then doubtful. But at preſent they might be regarded, not as duties of private men to their endangered country, but as inſults of the ſucceſsful over their defeated enemies.

Our nation indeed continues to be agitated with confuſions and tumults; but, God be thanked, theſe are only the impotent remains of an unnatural Rebellion, and are no more than the after-toſſings of a ſea when the ſtorm is laid. The enemies of his preſent Majeſty, inſtead of ſeeing him driven from his throne, as they vainly hoped, find him in a condition to viſit his dominions in

Germany,

Germany, without any danger to himſelf or to the publick; while his dutiful ſubjects would be in no ordinary concern upon this occaſion, had they not the conſolation to find themſelves left under the protection of a Prince who makes it his ambition to copy out his royal father's example; and who by his duty to his Majeſty, and affection to his people, is ſo well qualified to be the guardian of the realm.

It would not be difficult to continue a Paper of this kind, if one were diſpoſed to reſume the ſame ſubjects, and weary out the reader with the ſame thoughts in a different phraſe, or to ramble through the cauſe of Whig and Tory, without any certain aim or method, in every particular diſcourſe. Such a practice in political writers is like that of ſome preachers, taken notice of by Doctor *South*, who, being prepared only upon two or three points of doctrines, run the ſame round with their audience, from one end of the year to the other, and are always forced to tell them, by way of preface, Theſe are particulars of ſo great importance, that they cannot be ſufficiently inculcated. To avoid this method of tautology, I have endeavoured to make every paper a diſtinct Eſſay upon ſome particular ſubject, without deviating into points foreign to the tenor of each diſcourſe. They are indeed moſt of them Eſſays upon Government, but with a view to the preſent ſituation of affairs in *Great-Britain*; ſo that if they have the good fortune to live longer than works of this nature generally do, future readers may ſee in them the complexion of the times in which they were written. However, as there is no employment ſo irkſome, as that of tranſcribing out of one's ſelf, next to that of tranſcribing out of others, I ſhall let drop

the work, since there do not occur to me any material points arising from our present situation which I have not already touched upon.

As to the reasonings in these several Papers, I must leave them to the judgment of others. I have taken particular care that they should be conformable to our constitution, and free from the mixture of violence and passion, which so often creeps into the works of political writers. A good cause doth not want any bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot subsist without it. It is indeed observable, that an Author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull, and seems rather to be in a passion, because he cannot find out what to say for his own opinion, than because he has discovered any pernicious absurdities in that of his antagonists. A man, satirized by writers of this class, is like one burnt in the hand with a cold iron: There may be ignominious terms and words of infamy in the stamp, but they leave no impression behind them.

It would indeed have been unpardonable insolence for a fellow-subject to treat, in a vindictive and cruel stile, those persons whom his Majesty has endeavoured to reduce to obedience by gentle methods, which he has declared from the throne to be 'most agreeable to his inclinations.' May we not hope that all of this kind, who have the least sentiments of honour or gratitude, will be won over to their duty by so many instances of royal clemency, in the midst of so many repeated provocations! May we not expect that *Cicero*'s words to *Cæsar*, in which he speaks of those who were *Cæsar*'s enemies, and of his conduct towards them, may be applied to his Majesty; *Omnes enim qui fuerunt, aut suâ pertinaciâ vitam amiserunt, aut tuâ misericordiâ retinue unt;*

nuerunt; ut aut nulli ſuperſint de inimicis, aut qui ſuperfuerunt, amiciſſimi ſint.-----Quare gaude tuo iſto tam excellenti bono, et fruere cum fortunâ, et gloriâ, tum etiam naturâ, et moribus tuis. Ex quo quidem maximus eſt fructus, jucunditaſque ſapienti ------ Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quàm ut poſſis, nec natura tua melius, quàm ut velis, quamplurimos conſervare.

"All, who were your enemies, have either "loſt their lives through their own obſtinacy, "or preſerved them through your mercy; ſo "that either you have no enemies left, or thoſe "who were ſo are become your beſt friends. Re-"joice therefore in this your peculiar happineſs, "and enjoy, together with your good-fortune "and glory, your lenity and moderation. It is "the height of your good-fortune that you are "able, and the greateſt praiſe of your temper that "you are willing, to ſave as many as poſſible."

As for thoſe Papers of a gayer turn, which may be met with in this collection, my Reader will of himſelf conſider how requiſite they are to gain and keep up an audience to matters of this nature; and will perhaps be the more indulgent to them, if he obſerves, that they are none of them without a moral, nor contain any thing but what is conſiſtent with decency and good-manners.

It is obvious that the deſign of the whole work has been to free the people's minds from thoſe prejudices conveyed into them by the enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt the King and royal family, by opening and explaining their real characters; to ſet forth his Majeſty's proceedings, which have been very groſly miſrepreſented, in a fair and impartial light; to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of our oppoſing

the Pretender to his dominions, if we have any regard to our religion and liberties: And, in a word to incline the minds of the people to the desire and enjoyment of their own happiness. There is no question, humanly speaking, but these great ends will be brought about insensibly, as men will grow weary of a fruitless opposition; and be convinced by experience of a necessity to acquiesce under a government which daily gathers strength, and is able to disappoint the utmost efforts of its enemies. In the mean while, I would recommend to our malecontents the advice given by a great moralist to his friend upon another occasion; that he would shew it was in the power of wisdom to compose his passions; and let that be the work of reason which would certainly be the effect of time.

I shall only add, that if any writer shall do this Paper so much honour, as to inscribe the title of it to others, which may be published upon the laying down of this work; the whole praise or dispraise of such a performance will belong to some other Author; this fifty-fifth being the last Paper that will come from the hand of the *Free-Holder*.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

AFterwiſe, who they are, page 305.
Alexander the Great his falſe notion of glory, 292.
Allegiance to be broke by other methods beſides Rebellion, 35.
Ambaſſador, what his buſineſs is, according to Sir Henry Wotton, 97.
St. Ander, Britiſh trade there, 243.
Arbitrary power exemplifyed, 58. Interwoven with Popery, 75.
Aſſociation, female, 47. Subſcriptions to it, 66. The ribbons, 68.
Authors, when their arguments loſe their weight, 1. How they are uſually treated, 232, &c. To what compared by Mr. Congreve, 235.

B.

BAcon, Sir Francis, his obſervations on peaceable times, 153. His legacy to foreign nations and poſterity, 211.
Biographer (Grub-ſtreet,) what they are, 209.
Biron (de) Marſhal, his execution, 183.
Birth-day of King George the Firſt, celebrated by the Free-holder, 266.
Black Prince, his character, 284.
Boadicea, her example propoſed to the Britiſh widows, 46.
Bouhours, his character, 167.
Britiſh conſtitution how far preferable to any among the Greeks and Romans, 296.

C.

CAroline, Queen, her character when Princeſs of Wales drawn by the Free-holder, 118, &c.
Cartel ſettled for the Britiſh Ladies during their party contentions, 130.

Catalans; remarks on the treatment of that people, 186.
Cauſe, a bad one, the greateſt ſign of it, 37.
Charles the Firſt, his troubles to whom partly owing, 267.
Cheſhire Prophecy, how much relied on by the diſaffected, 136.
Chevreau's character of the Germans, of Bouhours, of the Ducheſs of Hannover, and the late Princeſs Sophia, 166.
Chriſtina Queen of Sweden, her reſignation of the crown, 254.
Church, the ridiculous notion of its danger, 40, 196, 218. A reflection on ſuch as engroſs that name, 160. Ill conſequences of the cry of its danger with regard to religion, 219.
Cicero, whether moſt admired as an Author, or as a Conſul, 219.
Citizens, the danger of their turning Politicians, 304.
Clelia, a Roman ſpinſter, her ſtory recommended to the Britiſh virgins, 46.
Conde (Prince of) his rallery upon the fickleneſs of the Engliſh politicks, 140.
Coriolanus's wife propoſed as a pattern to the Britiſh wives, 46.
Creed of a Tory-malecontent, 83, &c.

D.

DEtraction from merit, what it is owing to, 98. Diſaffection, how puniſhed in ſome former reigns, 298.
Dublin Univerſity, an encomium on it, 198.
Duck-hunting, what M. Bayle compares to it, 170.

E.

EDward the Third, his character, 239, 284.
Elizabeth (Queen) her ſteddineſs and uniformity,

formity, 141. Her advice to the Univerſity of Oxford, 202. Her character in general, 239, 308.
Eloquence, when it proves a very pernicious talent, 132.
Engliſh, much given to change, and why, 138. The ill effects of it, ibid. Their character by the French writers, 165. How they ape the French, 168.
Engliſhman, his duty as ſuch, 28.
Evil, not to be committed that Good may come of it, 40.
Euripides, the Tragedian, his impious account of an Oath, and how reſented by the Athenians, 35.
Examiner, ſome reflections on that Paper, 109.

F.

FAn, how it may be made uſe of with good ſucceſs againſt Popery, 44, 87.
Female converſation, its diſtinguiſhing ornaments, 132.
Fox-hunter, his character, 123, &c.
Free-holder, Britiſh, his happineſs, 2, &c.
Free-holder, the deſign of that Paper, 5.
Free-holder's anſwer to the Pretender's declaration, 48.
Free-thinkers in politicks, who they are, 301.
Free-thinking of the old Philoſophers, 296.
French, their vanity, 163, &c. The incivility of their Writers to the Engliſh, 166. And to the Germans, ibid. What the Germans and Italians ſay of a Frenchman, 168.

G.

GArter (Lady's) the dropping of it fatal to the French nation, 69.
George the Firſt, King of Great Britain, his character, 7, 267. His virtues, influence and

and credit, both at home and abroad, 134, 141. The baſeneſs of his Treatment by the diſaffected, 267.
Germans, French writers reflections on them, 167.
Glory, Alexander the Great his falſe notion of it, 292.
Goſſip in politicks, what ſhe is in her family, 144.
Gratian's maxim for raiſing a man to greatneſs, 207.
Gratia's, Spaniſh, what they are, 241.
Great Britain, not to be governed by a Popiſh ſovereign, 212, 253.
Greek Hiſtorians, cautions to be obſerved in reading them, 293.
Gretzer's character, by Cardinal Perron, 166.
Grubſtreet Biographers deſcribed, 209.

H.

HAbeas Corpus Act, reflections on its ſuſpenſion, 92, &c.
Henry the Fourth, of France, his treatment of the conſpirators, 183.
Henry the Seventh, of England, his character, 239.
Henry the Fifth, of England, his character, 285.
High-church-men, how naturally they are drawn in to favour the cauſe of Popery, 157. Compared to the blind Syrians, ibid. Their Bawlers a diſgrace to the Church of England, 300.
Highlander, ſecond-ſighted, his character and viſion, 149, &c. The Jacobites opinion of the Highlanders, 39. Hiſtorian, Eccleſiaſtick, Duke Schomberg's advice to him, 208.
Hiſtorians, modern, an account of them, 209.
Hiſtorians, Greek and Roman, cautions to be obſerved in reading them, 292.
Humour, its advantage under proper regulations, 262.

INDEX.

I.

JAmes the Second, his treatment of thoſe concerned in Monmouth's Rebellion, 186.
James the Firſt, (King) his character, 267, 308.
Jews, ancient ones, great lovers of their country, 26.
Impiety, preſent, to what owing, 218.
Inn-keeper, a pleaſant ſtory of a High-church one, 126. A factious one executed, for a ſawcy pun, 298.

L.

LAdies, Britiſh, their happineſs, 21.
Ladies, the great ſervice they are of to their parties, 18. A Cartel for them during their party contentions, 130.
Ladies, diſaffected, who they are, 129. Conſiderations offered to them, 145.
Ladies of either party, propoſals for a truce between them, 223.
Land-tax, reflections upon the Act for laying four ſhillings in the pound, 112.
Learned Fools, a fable, 200.
Learned Bodies, their obligation to cultivate the favour of Princes and great men, ibid.
Love of one's country defined, 22. How much it is our duty, 23. How natural and reaſonable, 24.
The actions proceeding from it how received, 26.
Lovers, a calculation of their numbers in Britain, 17.
Louis d'Ors, reflections on the edict for raiſing them, 103.
Loyalty, the nature of it, 36.
Lucan, his Pharſalia, tranſlated by Mr. Rowe, 237. The character of that work, and why it was not explained for the uſe of the Dauphin, ibid.

Lyars, how they are branded in Turkey, 97.
Lyes ſuited to particular Climates and Latitudes, 41. Party-Lyes, 38.
Lying, the ſign of a bad cauſe, 37.

M.

MAdrid Treaty compared with that of Utrecht, 240.
Mahometaniſm how it was propagated, 287.
Malecontents, Advice to them, 134.
Maſquerade on the birth of the Archduke, 257.
Match out of Newgate, an account of that Farce, 204.
Maud the Empreſs favoured by the Univerſity of Oxford, 201.
Miniſters of State, how they ſhould bear an undeſerved reproach, 98. The condition of thoſe in Great-Britain, 276.
Mobs, the folly and miſchiefs of them, 289.
Monkeys ſkirmiſhes in the Eaſt-Indies, ibid.
Morality, its practice neceſſary to make a nation or party flouriſh, 158.
Muley Iſhmael (Emperor of Morocco) his arbitrary power, and the tendency of it, 59, &c.

N.

NEtherlands, advantages to our trade there obtained by his late Majeſty, 249.
News-writers, the hardſhip upon them in a time of Peace, 148, 153. Their favourite ſects and parties, 304.
Nithiſdale. A country Gentlewoman in a ridinghood miſtaken for that Lord, 146.

O.

OAk-boughs, Rue and Thyme, the cenſure and correction of thoſe who wore thoſe badges, 288.
Oaths to the State, the nature of them, 30.
Oxford Univerſity, their affection to the Em-

preſs Maud, 201. Queen Elizabeth's advice to them, 202.

P.

PApers of the week, how they ought to be conducted, 264.
Papyrius ſon of a Roman Senator, his ſtory, 195.
Party Writers their unchriſtian ſpirit, 108, &c.
Party Spirit to be excluded out of publick diverſions, 203.
Party Rage how unamiable it makes the fair Sex, 221.
Party Diſtinctions cenſured, 298, &c.
Parties in Church and State, the ſource of them, 144.
Patin (M.) his ill-natured character of the Engliſh, 165.
Patriots, from whence they naturally riſe, 25.
Peace: Obſervations upon a time of Peace, 148, 153.
Perjury, the guilt of it, 30, &c.
Perſian Ambaſſador in France, his ceremony every morning, 25.
Pharſalia of Lucan, the character of that work, and why it was not explained for the uſe of the Dauphin, 237.
Play of Sir Courtly Nice, the audience divided into Whigs and Tories, 203.
Popiſh Prince inconſiſtent with Proteſtant Subjects, 212, 251, &c.
Preſton Rebel, his memoirs, 12, &c.
Preſton Rebels and their party, 39.
Pretender, Annals of his Reign, 214, &c. The Free-holder's anſwer to his declaration, 48, &c.
Printing-Preſſes erected in the country, 303.
Pudding, a favourite diſh of the Engliſh, 165.
Punch, a Remark upon that Liquor, 127.

R.

REbellion, the guilt of it in general, and of the late one in particular, 70. What would have been the conſequences of its ſucceſs, 74. Indifference in ſuch a juncture criminal, 77. Several uſeful maxims to be learned from the late Rebellion, 155. The celebration of the Thankſgiving-day for ſuppreſſing it, 281, &c.
Rebels againſt the late King, whether they deſerved his mercy or juſtice, 169, &c.
Riches, the uncertainty of them in France, 103.
Riots, the folly and miſchief of them, 288.
Roman hiſtorians, cautions to be obſerved in reading them, 292.
Rowe, Mr. an account of his Tranſlation of Lucan's Pharſalia, 237.
Ruyter (de) the Governor of Sallee's ſaying of him, 168.

S.

SAlluſt, his notions of regal authority, 140.
Schomberg (Duke) his advice to an eccleſiaſtic hiſtorian, 208.
Second-ſighted Sawney, his character and viſion, 149, &c.
Septennial Bill, the advantages of it, 220, 223.
Shrews domeſtic, what they prove in politics, 129.
Sigiſmond, King of Sweden, depoſed, and why, 254.
Slander, the ſign of a bad cauſe, 37.
Socrates, why called a Droll, 262.
Solomon's notions of juſtice and clemency, 184. Feaſt of the dedication of his Temple, 282.
Solon, a remarkable law of his againſt the neutrality of the ſubjects in a rebellion, 78.
Somers, (Lord) his character, 226, &c.

Sophia (Princeſs) her character, 166.
Spaniſh trade, advantages to it obtained by the late King, 240.
State-jealouſy defined, 297.
Stateſwoman compared to a Cotquean, 222.
Sully (Duke of) a blunt ſpeech of his to ſome Ladies who railed againſt Henry the Fourth of France, 66.
Sweet William, its contention with the white Roſe, 303.

T.

TAriffs, an account of them, 249.
Temple of Solomon, feaſt of its dedication, 282.
Tertuga, an account of that Iſland and its trade, 242.
Thankſgiving-day for ſuppreſſing the late rebellion celebrated, 281.
Tilenus's character by Scaliger, 167.
Tory malecontent, his political faith and creed, 83, &c.
Tory Fox-hunter's account of the maſquerade on the birth of the Arch-duke, 257, &c.
His converſion, 271, &c.
Tories victories in Scotland and Lancaſhire, 39.
Few beauties among the Tory females, 44.
Trade conſidered with regard to our nation, 245.
Triennial Act, reaſons for altering it, 220.
Tyre, an account of that Iſland and its trade, 246.

V.

VEnice, the jealouſy in that Commonwealth, 298.
Verulam (Lord) compared with Lord Somers, 231.
Viper, Æſop's fable of it, 147.
Virgins, political advice to them, 45.

Viſion of a ſecond-ſighted Highlander, 149, &c.
Utrecht treaty compared with that of Madrid, 244.

W.

WAltheof (Earl) beheaded for a conſpiracy againſt William the Conqueror, though he was the firſt that diſcovered it, 182.
Whigs, the fineſt women acknowledged to be of that party, 44. The bulk of the men ſuch in their hearts, 57. Vindicated from being republicans, &c. 160. Advice to them, 161. Preference of the Whig ſcheme to the Tory one, 307.
White Roſe, its contention with Sweet William, 303.
Widows cannot be enemies to our conſtitution, 46.
William (King) how injuriouſly he was treated by the Jacobites on his firſt arrival, 38.
William Rufus's ſaying of perjurers, robbers, traitors, 175.
William the Conqueror, his treatment of conſpirators, 182.
Wit, its advantage under proper regulations, 262, &c.
Wives, political advice to them, 45.
Women (Britiſh) the reaſons they have to be againſt popery and tyranny, 18. The artifices of malecontents to draw them to their party, 191.
Wotton (Sir Henry) his ſaying of Ambaſſadors, 97.

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